

The
Sauk
and
Fox
Nation

Sawson, Jan. 69
2128

Reprinted from Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XI.

The Sauks¹ and Foxes in Franklin and Osage Counties, Kansas.

Written by Mrs. IDA M. FERRIS,² of Osage City, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE Sauk Indians bore the designation among themselves of "Sau-kie," a name having many forms of pronunciation and spelling among the early writers. The Foxes, known to the French as Renards, called themselves "Mesh-kwa-kihug," or "red-earth people."³

The first treaty with the Sauks was that made with the Wyandots and other nations at Fort Harmar, Ohio, in 1789, to settle boundaries in the Northwest Territory, regulate trade, and establish a league of peace under the promised protection of the United States. As Fort Harmar was out of their own territory, they probably signed merely to obtain presents.

I have been told that some time before the eighteenth century the Sauks occupied northwestern Ohio and southeastern Michigan. Major Marston says:⁴ "I have been informed by some of the old men of the two nations

NOTE 1.—In Kansas, this tribal name is commonly spelled "Sac", but the Bureau of American Ethnology seems to have adopted the form used in this paper. The following forms are found in Thwaite's *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 73, p. 303: Sacs, Sachis, Sakis, Sakkis, Saky, Satzi, and Ousaki, which also had the other forms of Ousakioek, Oussaki and Oussakis. The following quotation from the journal of Fathier Cramoisy, 1666-'67, is from the same authority. vol. 51, p. 45, and is evidently the first mention found regarding this tribe:

"It is said of them (Ottawas) and of the Ousaki that when they find a man alone and at a disadvantage, they kill him, especially if he is a Frenchman; for they cannot endure the beards of the latter people. Cruelty of that kind makes them less docile and less inclined to receive the Gospel than are the Pouteouatami [Pottawatomies]. Still I failed not to proclaim it to nearly six score persons who passed a summer here. I found none among them sufficiently well prepared for baptism, though I conferred it on five of their sick children, who then recovered their health.

"As for the Ousaki, they above all others can be called Savages. They are very numerous, but wandering and scattered in the forests, without any fixed abode. I have seen nearly two hundred of them, to all of whom I have published the faith, and have baptised eighteen of their children, to whom the sacred waters were salutary for both soul and body."

NOTE 2.—IDA M. (St. John) FERRIS was born at Milan, Erie county, Ohio, September 14, 1849. Her father, Silas St. John, born at Rutland, Vt., was twelve years old in 1800, and saw Washington when on his trip in Vermont reviewing his battle grounds. Her grandfather, John W. St. John, was second in command under Ethan Allen, at Ticonderoga. Her great grandfather, John St. John, fought in the Colonial wars, and was a captain in the Revolution, he being the John of the family of Mathew, Mark, Luke and John, St. John. Her mother, Ava Ann Comstock, was born at Litchfield, Conn., April 10, 1812, being the daughter of Daniel Comstock and Polly Ostrander. Daniel Comstock was a captain in a Connecticut regiment in the Revolution. Polly Ostrander was a young girl on the Hudson river during the Revolutionary war and became acquainted with the young officer. At Litchfield, Conn., they reared their family, neighbors to the family of Dr. Lyman Beecher, to whose church they belonged. Harriet Beecher Stowe was but one year older than the mother of Mrs. Ferris. Daniel Comstock later emigrated to the Connecticut Fire-lands in Ohio reserved for Revolutionary soldiers. Mrs. Ferris was born on her grandfather's farm, one mile east of the academy at Milan, Ohio. C. R. Green, the historian, also born at Milan, says that the first Quenemo was born there. Mrs. Ferris remembers a magnificent, never-failing spring that gushed from the hillside back of her grandfather's house, forming a brook that rushed off to join the Huron river. Here the Indians must have refreshed themselves many times. Perchance the mother of Quenemo might have lingered here. About 1851 her parents removed to Republic, Seneca county, Ohio, which she found, while teaching in Marquette county, Wisconsin, from Chief Big John, himself a Sauk, had at one time belonged to the Sauks, and here again, in Wisconsin, she was on Sauk and Fox territory. Returning to Republic, she graduated from the Northwestern Normal in 1873. The next year she married Hiram L. Ferris, of Springport, Mich., whose mother was a cousin of Gen. Henry Leavenworth. In 1877 Mr. and Mrs. Ferris removed to his farm near Osage City, Kan., where they still reside, and, strange to say, the farm is a part of the McMannus purchase, and Mrs. Ferris is still on the Sauk and Fox lands. They have two sons, Frank E. Ferris and Raymond M. Ferris. Like her mother, Mrs. Ferris was a teacher. The mother taught in Erie and Huron counties, Ohio, twenty years, eleven months out of twelve. Mrs. Ferris has taught twenty-one years, but not so much actual time as did her mother.

NOTE 3.—Report of Jedidiah Morse to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs, 1822, p. 121; Bureau of American Ethnology, *Handbook of American Indians*, pt. 1, p. 472, the authority there given being William Jones.

NOTE 4.—*Ibid*, p. 123.

that the Sauk and Fox nations emigrated from a great distance below Detroit and established themselves at a place called Saganau (Saginaw), in Michigan territory; that they have since built villages and lived on Fox river, Illinois." It was on the Fox river, Wisconsin, that they were first known to the French, about 1666, in the region of Green Bay. (See note 1.)

The two tribes are closely allied by language, and it is supposed that they were originally one people, the division into two nations occurring further back than tradition. They became united again, politically, as early as 1780, after a severe defeat of the Foxes at the hands of the Chippewas. Since known to the whites their emigration has been south and west, to the Wisconsin, and then to the Rock river, in Illinois. They laid claim to Iowa through conquest, and this claim was established by Keokuk at Washington, in a debate with the Sioux and other tribes.⁵

Black Hawk, a Sauk, was born near the mouth of Rock river in 1767, and Keokuk, also a Sauk, on the same stream about 1780. Before 1800 the tribes had crossed the Mississippi and built large villages on the Iowa river, but by 1804 they were again in the neighborhood of Rock Island.⁶ That year, at St. Louis, they made their first effective treaty with the government. It was one of the thirteen important treaties negotiated by William Henry Harrison, who was at that time dubbed "Old Indian Chaser." By this treaty the Sauks and Foxes ceded their Wisconsin and Illinois lands, retaining territory embracing the greater part of Iowa; were taken into the friendship of the United States; were to receive goods to the amount of a thousand dollars annually, and protection was promised them from all other tribes, and from intruders of all kinds; the nation was to deliver up all offenders, and return all stolen horses; a trading house was to be built, and none but authorized traders allowed on their reservation. They were to be allowed to live and hunt upon the ceded lands east of the Mississippi so long as they remained unsold.⁷

During the war of 1812 a majority of the two tribes sided with Great Britain. Those loyal to the United States removed to Missouri, and were thereafter known as the Sauks and Foxes of the Missouri, and are recognized in the treaty of September 13, 1815.⁸ In the same year a treaty was made with the Foxes of Rock river, and in 1816 one with the Sauks, confirming to each all the privileges of the Sauk and Fox treaty of 1804, and forgiving them for their participation in the late war. These latter were thereafter known as the Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi.⁹

As early as 1820 white men began to squat on the rich corn lands of the old village near the mouth of Rock river. Two years later the government agent at Fort Armstrong (Rock Island) urged upon the Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi the propriety of their removal to the west side of the Mississippi river. To this Black Hawk was opposed from patriotic motives, and to some extent because the removal was actively favored by his rival, Keokuk.¹⁰ The latter promptly removed to Iowa.

NOTE 5.—*Handbook of American Indians*, pt. 1, p. 472.

NOTE 6.—Morse's report, pp. 123-4.

NOTE 7.—*Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 1904, vol. 2, p. 74.

NOTE 8.—*Ibid*, p. 120.

NOTE 9.—*Ibid*, pp. 121, 126.

NOTE 10.—*Drake's Life of Black Hawk*, ed. 7, Cincinnati, 1851, is my principal authority for the history of the nation up to and including the period of the Black Hawk War.

Black Hawk remained, and in 1829 the government, to create a pretext for the immediate removal of his band to the west side of the Mississippi, sold a few acres of land at the mouth of Rock river, including Black Hawk's village site (though the nearest legal white settlements had not approached that point within fifty miles), and he was again importuned to go. But he still refused to abandon his old home, until finally, by show of arms, he was obliged to remove to the west side of the Mississippi. June 30, 1831, Black Hawk subscribed to a treaty of capitulation and peace, with General Gaines and Governor Reynolds, acknowledging that his Rock river lands were sold, and promising that he would remain in Iowa. However, in the spring of 1832 he again crossed the Mississippi on his way to the Winnebago towns, whether to raise corn with this tribe or to make war on the whites with their assistance will never be known. He was attacked by Illinois and United States troops, and a merciless war followed,¹¹ other tribes participating.

In July Black Hawk's forces had retreated north into Wisconsin, and were attacked, with large loss, while crossing the Wisconsin river. He was overtaken again and defeated while making preparation to cross the Mississippi river near the mouth of Bad Axe river, some twenty miles above Prairie du Chien, August 2, 1832. Black Hawk himself escaped, but was soon taken captive by two Winnebagoes, who delivered him, on August 27, to General Street, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien. Here it is supposed that Black Hawk made his famous speech, which for oratory, eloquence, pathos and logic is not surpassed.

SPEECH OF BLACK HAWK.¹²

"You have taken me prisoner, with all my warriors. I am much grieved; for I expected, if I did not defeat you, to hold out much longer, and give you more trouble before I surrendered. I tried hard to bring you into ambush, but your last general [Atkinson] understood Indian fighting. I determined to rush upon you, and fight you face to face. I fought hard, but your guns were well aimed. The bullets flew like birds in the air, and whizzed by our ears like the wind through the trees in winter.

"My warriors fell around me; it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose dim on us in the morning, and at night it sank in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. That was the last sun that shone on Black Hawk. His heart is dead, and no longer beats quick in his bosom. He is now a prisoner to the white men; they will do with him as they wish. But he can stand torture, and is not afraid of death. He is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian!

"He has done nothing for which an Indian ought to be ashamed. He has fought for his countrymen, against the white men who came, year after year, to cheat them and take away their lands. You know the cause of our making war. It is known to all white men. They ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians and drive them from their homes. But the Indians are not deceitful. The white men speak bad of the Indian, and look at him spitefully. But the Indian does not tell lies. Indians do

NOTE 11.—While the Indians were preparing for this war, J. F. White, for many years an old settler of Osage county, and a resident later of Osage City, and who was at that time a soldier of the Fourth Illinois, in which Abraham Lincoln was a captain, was sent among them as a spy, dressed as an Indian. Mr. White had been brought up among the Sauks and Foxes, knew their language thoroughly, was acquainted with Black Hawk personally, having at one time entertained the great chieftain at his home over night, and besides knew many of the Indians by sight and name. It was a most hazardous thing to do. Among many other things he saw was Black Hawk, whose Indian name was Mah-kut-tali Mes-she-ka-kaque, sitting on his pony, holding a long, bright red cloth on which were represented bodies, some headless, some legless, others armless, embroidered in white beads, these representing the white people Black Hawk had himself killed. Mr. White succeeded in obtaining the information needed and in getting safely away without being recognized.

NOTE 12.—Willson's American History, Chicago, 1856, p. 36.

not steal. An Indian who is as bad as a white man could not live in our nation. He would be put to death and eaten by the wolves.

"The white men are bad schoolmasters. They carry false looks and deal in false actions. They smile in the face of the poor Indian, to cheat him; they shake him by the hand to gain his confidence, to make him drunk, and to deceive him. We told them to let us alone, and keep away from us; but they followed on, and beset our paths, and they coiled themselves among us, like the snake. They poisoned us by their touch. We were not safe; we lived in danger. We were becoming like them, hypocrites and liars; all talkers and no workers.

"We looked up to the Great Spirit. We went to our Father. We were encouraged. His great council gave us fair words and big promises; but we obtained no satisfaction. Things were growing worse. There were no deer in the forest. The opossum and the beaver were fled. The springs were drying up, and our people were without food to keep them from starving. We called a great council and built a big fire. The spirit of our fathers arose and spoke to us to avenge our wrongs or die. We set up the war whoop and dug up the tomahawk; our knives were ready, and the heart of Black Hawk swelled high in his bosom when he led his warriors to battle. He is satisfied. He will go to the world of spirits contented. He has done his duty. His father will meet him there and commend him. Black Hawk is a true Indian. He feels for his wife, his children, his friends, but he does not care for himself. He cares for the nation and for the Indians. They will suffer. He laments their fate.

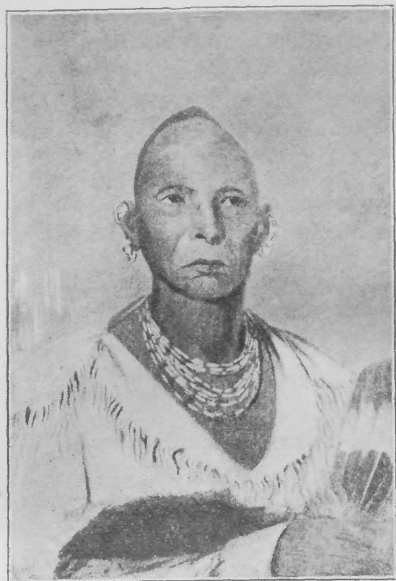
"The white men do not scalp the head, they do worse—they poison the heart. It is not pure with them. His countrymen will not be scalped, but will in a few years be like the white men, so you cannot trust them; and there must be in the white settlements as many officers as men, to take care of them and keep them in order.

"Farewell, my nation! Black Hawk tried to save you, and avenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of some of the whites. He has been taken prisoner, and his plans are stopped. He can do no more! He is near his end. His sun is setting, and he will rise no more. Farewell to Black Hawk!"

We quote this masterpiece of Indian eloquence because Black Hawk's sons came subsequently with the tribe to Kansas, and are buried at Greenwood; and because, viewed in the light of the later history of this tribe, and the gigantic frauds perpetrated upon them in this country, known to men now living, and who say they have facts and figures in their possession, will tend to make the lovers of truth and honor feel that this speech is a just criticism, and a stinging rebuke upon the entire white race, that ought to be and will be remembered against us by the great eternal Spirit forever.

Black Hawk, his two sons, Neapope, the prophet White Cloud, who had counseled the war, and five other chieftains were taken to Jefferson barracks, near St. Louis, Mo., in September, 1832, and were here detained, heavily ironed, until April, 1833. They were then brought before President Jackson, at Washington. During this interview the President reproved Black Hawk for bringing on the war. Black Hawk replied, "Sir, you are a man; so am I. But fortune has placed us in different circumstances. Your people are stronger than mine. You can dictate your terms. I am your prisoner, and must submit, but I am still a man, the same as you."

From Washington the Indians were sent to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, where, though still prisoners, they were treated kindly. After a time it was thought best to take Black Hawk and his companions from prison and show them the great cities of the East, and thus impress upon them the great number of whites, and the utter uselessness of ever again going on the war-



BLACK HAWK.

Courtesy of Mr. F. E. Steven,
Dixon, Ill.



KEOKUK.

From life-size portrait in Kansas State
Historical Society's museum.

path. They were then given another interview with President Jackson. Everywhere they were taken the wildest enthusiasm prevailed; excited throngs demanded they exhibit themselves on balconies and platforms. When they had completed the tour they were returned home by way of Albany, Buffalo and Detroit, to Rock Island.

Here a treaty was made September 21, 1832,¹³ and signed by Keokuk, head chief, with others, by which "the remnant of the hostile bands shall be divided among the neutral bands of the tribes according to blood, the Sauks among the Sauks and the Foxes among the Foxes." A large present of food, including 6000 bushels of corn, was made for the benefit of the women and children whose natural protectors had been killed in the late war. A cession of lands from their Iowa reserve was also made. It was not until the council of October 12, 1841, that amicable relations seem to have been quite fully restored between the two factions.

But white settlements still encroached upon the Sauks and Foxes, and another cession of Iowa lands was made by the nation September 28, 1836.¹⁴ At this treaty provision was made for certain half-breed children, among them a child of Niwa-ka-kee, a Fox woman, by one Mitchell, for whom \$1000 was given to Joseph M. Street, Indian agent, for its use and benefit. The children of "their friend John Connolly, deceased, Thomas and James," were also remembered by a gift of \$200, the interest to be used in their education. This John Connolly was a subagent and interpreter for the tribe

NOTE 13.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, vol. 2, p. 349.

NOTE 14.—Ibid, pp. 476, 495.

as early as 1824. His name frequently occurs in the manuscript book of accounts for that agency until February, 1828. The treaty of October 21, 1837, at Washington, further curtailed the Sauk and Fox reservation in Iowa, paid certain of their debts, provided a mill, goods, the plowing of ground, farm laborers, horses, a blacksmith and a gunsmith, increased their annuities, but allowed Keokuk to remain at his old village on the ceded ground for a certain time. Keokuk, the "Watchful Fox," signs as principal chief of the federated tribes.

Black Hawk died at his home near Iowaville, on the Des Moines river, October 3, 1838, at the age of seventy-two years. In the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, is an imposing wax figure of the old chief. It is clad in blanket and beaded buckskin leggings and moccasins. Projecting from above the forehead at an angle of fifty-two degrees stands a large hawk's feather, and a succession of feathers of the same length and quill extend over the top of his head and down his back to his heels. His copper-colored face expresses a consciousness of kingly dignity. Black Hawk was buried at his own request, as was his father.

The following description of the Sauk and Fox burial customs was given me by a gentleman¹⁵ who had long acquaintance with the tribe:

"Before he expired the medicine men anointed him and he was painted for death. A grave was dug in the form of a seat, so the top of the head of the corpse, when seated, would be even with the top of the ground. A piece of domestic or strong cloth was passed around the body and tied tightly over the top of the head. The gun, wampum and other personal effects were buried also, so that when the departed brave should have been resurrected these things would be handy for use. They provided a contrivance for resurrecting the body. A green pole was set in the ground and bent over so that the end of this spring-pole came over the head of the departed Indian. Then the spring-pole was held down by being tied to a stake driven into the ground on the opposite side of the grave. The cloth on top of the Indian's head was then tied to the spring-pole. The idea was that when the resurrection day should come the fastenings would give way at the stake and the spring-pole would elevate the Indian and set him upon his feet. His pony and dog were there waiting for him; he picked up his gun, and he was in the happy hunting grounds. After the dead Indian had been fixed to his spring-pole, the grave was cribbed with logs, solidly built and lined with cloth, so no one could look into his resting place. This work of burying the dead was done by the squaws. In case the ground was so frozen a grave could not be dug, the body was sewed up in a rawhide and laid up in a tree until spring, when it was taken down and buried."

FINAL SALE OF THE IOWA LANDS.

Agency of John Beach, 1841-1847.

October 15 to 16, 1841,¹⁶ a council was held, with reference to a treaty, at the Sauk and Fox agency in Iowa territory. The commissioners in behalf of the government were T. Hartley Crawford, John Chambers and James Doty. It was proposed by them that the tribes sell to the United States all the land then claimed by them in Iowa for \$1,000,000, and money enough besides to pay their debts, amounting to about \$300,000; to remove them to the headwaters of the Des Moines river, west of Blue Earth river; that the government should build each family a frame house and break six

NOTE 15.—Geo. W. Logan, of Quenemo, is authority for this statement. W. Henry Starr, of Burlington, Iowa, gave Mr. Drake, March 21, 1839, an account of the burial of Black Hawk, which may be found on page 241 of the volume previously quoted.

NOTE 16.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1841, p. 248.

acres of land near it; that the houses should be built near together for social intercourse; that they should have blacksmiths, etc.; that three forts should be established and held between them and the Sioux and Winnebagoes, for their protection. The nation numbered at this time but 2300 men, women and children, while fifteen years before there were 1600 warriors alone.

Replies were made by several chiefs. Keokuk, chief of the Sauks, said:

"We have never heard so hard proposals. The country to which you wish to send us, we are acquainted with. It looks like a country of distress. It is the poorest country in every respect I have ever seen. We own this land from our fathers, and we think we have a right to say whether we will sell or not. You have read and heard the traditions of our nation. We were once powerful. We conquered many nations, and our fathers conquered this land; we now own it by possession, and have the same right to it that white men have to the land they occupy. We hope you will not think hard of our refusal to sell. We wish to act for the benefit of our children and those who come after them, and we believe the Great Spirit will bless us for so doing. As to the proposal to build schoolhouses, etc., we have always been opposed to them, and will never consent to have them introduced into our nation. We do not wish any more proposals made to us."

Wa-pel-lo, chief of the Foxes, said:

"I remember when Wiskonsan was ours, and it now has our name; we sold it to you. Rock river and Rock Island once were ours; we sold them to you. Dubuque was once ours; we sold that to you. And they are occupied by white men who live happily. Rock river was the only place where we lived happily, and we sold that to you. This is all the country we have left, and we are so few now we cannot conquer other countries."

The prejudice was so great, especially to the lands proposed, the commissioners were obliged to discontinue negotiations.

However, the following year, 1842, a treaty was made whereby the Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi ceded the remainder of their Iowa lands to the government; for which they were to receive \$800,000 and a tract of land upon the Missouri or some of its waters. Each of the principal chiefs was to be paid \$500 annually, and \$30,000 was to be retained at each annual payment, and expended for general national purposes and support of the poor. Certain funds were to be used for agricultural purposes; the remains of the late Fox chief, Wa-pel-lo,¹⁷ were to be buried at the agency near the grave of their late agent, Joseph M. Street. The Indians reserved the right to occupy the western half of the land for three years after signing the

NOTE 17.—Wapello was second in command of the Sauk and Fox nation after the deposing of Black Hawk. In company with these two chiefs and other members of the tribe he was taken East in 1837. At the Boston statehouse he responded to the welcoming address of Governor Edward Everett, and led the war dance on Boston commons. The stone that marks his resting place bears the inscription:

"In memory of Wapello, principal chief for the Foxes. Born the year 1787; died near the forks of Skunk river, March 15, 1842, and here buried at his own request. This stone was erected by the Sac and Fox nation. Distinguished from early years for his valor, he was no less remarkable for kindness and benevolence toward his people, while honesty of character and strong friendship toward the white man won for him universal regard."

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of November 25, 1906, says that no better or more famous Indian agent ever existed than Joseph M. Street. At the time of the Black Hawk war he was agent of the Winnebagoes, whom he moved from camp to camp to avoid Black Hawk who confidently expected help from them. In 1835 Street became agent of the Sauks and Foxes in Iowa, at the place now known as Agency City. Street was a Virginian, born in Lunenburg county, December 18, 1772. He became famous through his effort at Frankfort, Ky., to expose the treachery of Aaron Burr, and was nearly assassinated in consequence, being unable to appear as a witness against Burr. In November, 1827, he became agent of the Winnebagoes, appointed by President John Quincy Adams. Andrew Jackson reappointed him twice, though Street was a vigorous whig. Street quickly made the Indians respect and love him, did away with abuses, and introduced scores of necessary reforms. The article from which the above notes are taken appears to be authentic, and is finely illustrated.

treaty, October 11, 1842. This treaty was ratified February 15, 1843.¹⁸ Mr. Crawford, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, says:

"The Indians, without any reminder by any authority, removed to the western portion of the old reserve in a quiet and orderly manner. This is a spectacle worthy of contemplation. A race of wild and uneducated Indians, mindful of their engagement, and more—leaving the grounds on which they had hunted and roamed to the occupancy of our citizens, and voluntarily and quietly, without any agency of ours, turning their backs, in a body of about 2300 souls, on the scenes of their former joys and sorrows."

The superintendent, John Chambers, in his report for 1843, states that:

"This confederation of Sauks and Foxes are entitled to rank among the most bold, honest and independent of the tribes north of the Missouri, and are second to none in their apparent respect for the government, and peaceful disposition toward their white neighbors, and yet it is found impracticable to induce them to devote any portion of their very large annuities to the amelioration of their condition. To the establishment of schools among them they manifest an obstinate resistance."¹⁹

They were opposed to permit any portions of the proceeds of their money to be used in building comfortable houses or opening a pattern farm. John Beach fortells:

"Unless by their final position upon the waters of the Missouri, some insuperable barrier is interposed to their communication with the white population, or until by some suitable legislation some means are adopted of rendering spirituous liquors totally inaccessible to them, no great success should be expected in attempting the civilization or improvement of these tribes."

The cause of this state of affairs seems to be the "bad white man":

"The Indian frontier appears to have become the natural rendezvous of this class of people, who willingly suffer every inconvenience and complain of no discomfort, so long as they have the means of successfully continuing their infamous traffic in whisky."²⁰

Mr. Chambers reports, in 1844:

"They are a brave and warlike people, and comparatively honest and intelligent. . . . Some of their chiefs are men of a very high order of intellect and yet they are, without exception, inveterate sots."

The agent, John Beach says:

"The agricultural labors of the Sauk and Foxes have been attended with better success this season than for the two previous. In the winter some of the chiefs applied to me to purchase four ploughs and the requisite harness. They have cultivated a large quantity of ground, mostly in corn."²¹

THE REMOVAL FROM IOWA.

The time stipulated by the treaty of October, 1842, for the final removal from their Iowa lands was near at hand. Agent Beach suffered a serious illness. Keokuk gave him every assistance in his power and displayed more than his usual capacity and firmness, managing the tribes in a superior manner. In Beach's report, September 1, 1845, he says:²²

"The Sauks, under the good management of old Keokuk, are only waiting their payment in order to commence their journey. The Foxes are less

NOTE 18.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1842, p. 5; 1843, p. 264. Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 546.

NOTE 19.—Ibid, 1843, p. 374.

NOTE 20.—Ibid, 1843, p. 380.

NOTE 21.—Ibid, 1844, pp. 413, 418.

NOTE 22.—Ibid, 1845, pp. 481, 484.

satisfied with the idea of leaving the country, still I believe the principal men, aware of the fact they must move, are intending to go without opposition."

And again, in speaking of Keokuk, he says :

"It is a pleasure to transact business with him, because of his aptness to understand motives and arguments, and to appreciate the condition of his people, while his readiness to coöperate and forward every measure suggested by me merits the approbation of the department."

At some time previous to the date of starting, at a council at their agency on Racoon river, it was decided that owing to their abundant supply of horses and a plentiful crop, they would need no assistance in removing. The agent, John Beach, removed to Kansas with his charges, to whose interests he seemed deeply devoted. By the last day of September, 1845,²³ all of the Sauks, led by Keokuk, were on their way to the promised land. By the 8th of October the Foxes began their march, so that by the 11th, the date specified, all the nation excepting 100, the Mesquite band, among whom were many of the aged and infirm, had actually left their former home.

By the first of the year 1846 all of the Sauk and one-fifth of the Foxes had gathered on the Kansas river to await the coming of the remainder of the tribe, that they might together make a choice between the two tracts which the government had offered them. The Shawnees, upon whose lands they halted, had given their permission, at the solicitation of the government.

The band of Foxes who were behind had stopped with the Pottawatomies in Iowa, who had invited them to remain, as they were old allies. The visit continued so long that the planting of corn could not be postponed by the emigrants already in Kansas, and as all were gathered who had continually kept their obligations, and were in a large majority, these made the selection in the spring of 1846, choosing for permanent reserve the tract lying upon the headwaters of the Osage river. A large number of these Indians immediately commenced their settlement, while those who had already planted corn upon the Wakarusa and Kaw, thirty miles away, remained to harvest their crop before coming on to the reservation. The enrollment in September, 1845, was 2278 souls.

By the time of the payment of the next annuity all had gathered at the new reservation.²⁴

The Sauk and Fox reservation in Kansas embraced, generally speaking, all of Weller (now Osage) county south of Dragoon township, to the present Coffey county line, and extended six and one-half miles east into Franklin county, and some three miles west into Lyon county.²⁵ The plats of the United States surveys on file in the auditor's office, Topeka, show the agency buildings to have been situated near the center of the northwest quarter of section 16, township 17, range 18, Franklin county, at least a mile south of the Marais des Cygnes. The post office was Westport, Jackson county, Missouri, sixty-five miles away. Mr. Beach describes the reservation as being pleasantly situated, agreeably diversified as to surface, moderately

NOTE 23.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1846, pp. 299-300.

NOTE 24.—Ibid, 1847, p. 735.

NOTE 25.—Map showing the progress of public surveys in Kansas and Nebraska, 1866. Surveyor General's office, Leavenworth, August 25, 1866.

well timbered, springs scarce, the water of the streams unhealthy, and a rock substratum making difficult the digging of wells. The climate was delightful. The country had been reported sickly, but notwithstanding the excessive heat, exposed situation, unacclimated habits, "our apprehensions have proved entirely unfounded." The Sauks and Foxes had for neighbors on two sides partially civilized tribes—the Chippewas and Ottawas—and the agent thought it essential that the Chippewa boundary be established without delay. Thus far no instructions had been received as to the agency buildings, shops, etc. The smiths had erected a temporary forge, where repairing was done, but were limited for want of iron and steel, that for lack of a place for its safe-keeping Mr. Beach was unable and unwilling to incur the risk of bringing out. Chas. H. Whittington, later of Allen, Lyon county, came as gunsmith to the tribe in 1846. In 1851 he went to Council Grove and kept store.

This was the year of the Mexican war, under Polk's administration, and it was not strange the government was slow in providing agency quarters. This was the year Doniphan, Price, Sumner and Weightman, with infantry, cavalry and artillery, marched from Fort Leavenworth over the Santa Fe trail, a distance of 700 miles, in fifty days.²⁶

"Already several villages have sprung up," reports Mr. Beach, in the fall of 1847,²⁷ "and their numerous fields of corn give evidence of a commendable industry." The Sauk and Fox buffalo hunt proved unusually successfully, and they returned in the early part of August heavily laden with meat. During this year some missionary society offered to erect and support, at its own expense, a mission and school for the nation, but the offer was refused by the chiefs and headmen. Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent at St. Louis, makes some complaint of the manner in which the agent paid the tribal annuities.²⁸ Mr. Beach, whose wife had died a short time before the removal of the nation west, returned in the fall of this year to visit his family in Iowa.

The Agency Under James S. Raines, 1848-'49.

During the year 1848 the agency buildings were erected and plenty and harmony prevailed. In the annual report we learn that the Ottawas, being thrifty, disposed of their surplus to surrounding tribes, and complained of depredations committed by the Sauks and Foxes. The chiefs admitted the charge and were anxious to settle the difficulty, so a council was held in which the differences were amicably adjusted.²⁹

While on their summer hunt in July in company with several neighboring tribes, the Sauks and Foxes met the Pawnees on the prairies and were friendly, but while Chief Moses Keokuk was handing to a Pawnee the pipe of peace, a Kansas Indian shot and killed the Pawnee. His friends, who were but a short distance away, seeing one of their braves killed, immediately attacked the hunters, who were forced to fight. They killed and scalped five of the Pawnees. No other Indians were killed, but several were wounded.

Late in the fall the nation gathered and buried their crop, and then prepared to go out upon their winter hunt. Many had expressed a desire to

NOTE 26.—Connelley's Doniphan's Expedition, 1907, pp. 140, 148.

NOTE 27.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1847, p. 846.

NOTE 28.—Ibid, 1847, p. 842.

NOTE 29.—Ibid, 1848, p. 453.



CHIEF KEOKUK MONUMENT,
Rand Park, Keokuk, Iowa.

have farms which were laid out during the winter. A doctor was also requested, notwithstanding their prejudice to white doctors.

The western superintendent of Indian affairs, Thomas H. Harvey, of St. Louis, in his report for 1848, says:

"The Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi are the only Indians within this superintendency who are opposed to schools; how far their prejudice may relax by the death of their principal chief, Keokuk, who has made no concealment of his opposition to schools, time alone can determine."³⁰

The old chief died in April, 1848, and was buried at the agency. It is said that Keokuk was poisoned by a member of his own tribe, and that the files of the St. Louis newspapers of June, 1848, tell the story. The murderer was arrested, tried, convicted and shot. About 1883 his bones were reinterred at Keokuk, Iowa, and a handsome granite shaft

raised over them, in which is embedded the marble slab that marked his grave in Kansas.

The Agency Under C. N. Handy, 1849-'50.

In April, 1849, Charles N. Handy became agent:

"The Sauk and Fox tribe I found in a very unsettled condition, requiring rigid government. They did not appear naturally disobedient or malicious. They are a noble race of men, honest and honorable."³¹

FIRST PROHIBITORY LAW IN KANSAS.³²

Agent Handy also states that their condition was due to two causes—a lack of proper government heretofore, and to the influence of bad white men whom he had run out of the reservation. He bears witness that the majority of the Sauks and Foxes drink no spirituous liquors, and that Tuck-quas, chief of one of the largest bands, never tastes ardent spirits, and has prohibited it in his band—the first prohibition law in Kansas, some

NOTE 30.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1848, p. 437.

NOTE 31.—This reminds the compiler that in the genealogy of the Leavenworth family, page 152, it is recorded that in 1816 Gen. Henry Leavenworth, then Colonel, was appointed Indian agent for the northwestern territory, with headquarters at Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien); that he sent for his wife to join him some years later. His wife, Harriet Lovejoy, sister of Owen, and little daughter, went from New York by boat, via New Orleans and St. Louis, where they were met by fourteen Indians sent by Colonel Leavenworth for their escort on their journey of 700 miles through the then unbroken wilderness. Four of them carried the palanquin, five marched in front and five in the rear, and two stood guard at night, and all were polite, kind and obliging. They arrived safely the thirty-fourth day. She is said to be the first white woman who traveled through the wilderness to that remote station.

NOTE 32.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1849, p. 155. It is possible that the Ottawa was under Meeker made a similar rule before this time.

thirty-four years before John P. St. John, the apostle of prohibition, inaugurated the prohibitory law of Kansas. The agent continues:

"There have been three murders within the last six months occasioned by whisky. During my spring payment I arrested one of the murderers of Mr. Colburn,³³ a Santa Fe trader. His accomplice was found in the Pottawatomie nation. There is no doubt of their guilt and they are now in the hands of the United States marshal and will be tried in April at St. Louis."

Mr. Handy reports, in 1850:³⁴

"The Sauks and Foxes number about 3000, and are divided into nine bands, each headed by one recognized as chief. The chiefs are selected often from among their braves on account of their heroic deeds, rather than from inherited royal chieftaincy. This is the cause of incompetent men. There are two principal chiefs, acting, authorized chiefs, with whom we transact most of the business of this nation—[Moses] Keokuk, the Sauk chief, and No-qah-cos-see, the Fox chief. They are honest and better fitted for this station than most other Indians occupying similar posts. . . . The nation is at peace, and entirely under the control of the agent in matters of business, but not in the use of intoxicating drinks. This they have used to a greater extent in the last eight months than ever before. I have exerted myself to the extent of my capacity to prevent it, but lack law, or authority to execute it. Since my last report there have been six murders from the use of intoxicating drinks.

"I have little encouragement from the Indians as to missionaries or schools. Indeed such a proposition in many instances excited them almost to hostilities. They have advanced in farming, and tilled this season five or six hundred acres of corn, but unfortunately there has been an entire failure of the crop, only one good rain since planting time, and the thermometer for six weeks ranging from 95 to 110. The Indians complain about the government paying their money for old claims, without their consent, and there was much excitement at the spring payment. They have erected a spacious council house, office, and wareroom for storing salt, tobacco and other supplies, and when not in use, as a hospital.

"While speaking of interpreters, I will take occasion to say that the salaries, as a general thing, are not sufficient to secure suitable men; for instance, the Sauk and Fox interpreter is needed most all of his time with the agent, yet the agent has frequently to get along without him, his services being required by the surgeon, and with him he must frequently make a visit of ten or fifteen miles. The residence of the agent and interpreter is the home of the Indian; their rooms are always open, and their table is always spread. The interpreter must be a reliable man, a man of intelligence; he must be one who will live clear of all other influence, especially those of the trader and other whites."

Mr. Handy did not tell us he brought his slaves with him, but he did.

The Agency Under John R. Chenault, 1851-'52.

In Mr. Chenault's report for 1851, he says:³⁵

"The enrollment of the Sauks and Foxes in May last was 2660, and they occupy a country in which the soil is very sandy and greatly inferior in quality to that occupied by any other tribe over which I have had any control. and were in a much worse situation than the others. Fortunately they had a fund set apart by treaty stipulations, which could be applied in supplying their wants, and were furnished about 3000 bushels of corn, which enabled them to sustain themselves well through the winter. . . . Some of the braves, who have been reared to believe it was degrading for an Indian warrior to be seen tilling the earth, this season have taken hold of the plow and rendered valuable assistance in preparing the fields for the present crop, though many of the men are averse to such labor.

NOTE 33.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1849, p. 157.

NOTE 34.—Ibid, 1850, p. 25.

NOTE 35.—Ibid 1851, p. 64.

"When I proposed to use a portion of the fund set apart by the fifth article of the treaty of 1842 to build a mill, to relieve their women of the labor of beating meal, they replied that they would not object to the mill if it would not bring missionaries among them. They are of the opinion that as soon as they permit any houses of any description, the extraordinary charm of their medicine bags and medicine lodge will cease, and the religion of the white man will be supplanted in their stead.

"This medicine lodge³⁶ is a secret society, hereditary in certain families, and the members of it are the living repositories of the secret mysteries and religious superstitions of their tribe. They meet once a year. When the meeting begins you can see the Indians flocking to it from all directions. For two days the initiated keep themselves in a lodge prepared for the occasion, and the rest of the tribe are not permitted to enter. At the expiration of the two days the members of the lodge come forth, and for three days and nights they keep up their religious worship. The medicine men exercise a great influence over the rest of the tribe. The common people believe they possess the power, when they displease them, of inflicting upon them great calamities."

While the Sauks and Foxes were out upon their summer hunt this year (1851) a young Indian who was sick, and who was the only son of an aged father, was attacked and murdered. The Sauks and Foxes were greatly exasperated at this outrage, and Mr. Chenault says he tried to induce them to abstain from avenging this wrong. Perhaps the great affliction that came upon them prevented, rather than Chenault's persuasion, for in May

NOTE 36.—When the compiler was a young girl teaching in Wisconsin, the Sauks and Foxes and Winnebagoes who had fled to the hills at the time of the Black Hawk War, and never did go west, even to Iowa, gathered about Westfield, Wis., during the summer of 1869, until there were several hundred by the time their medicine council was held. The fall before the squaws who lived in the locality had gathered from the marshes every long rush obtainable, and during the winter had woven them into long strips of rush cloth, the width of the rushes, some six feet. A great many white people visited their camp on Duck creek during their council week. Among a party of young people we attended one afternoon. The squaws were at work preparing the evening meal, cooking out of doors over an open fire; a huge kettle was filled with boiling potatoes, cooked in their jackets and without washing, the mud boiling up thick and black. Other groups were cleaning up the children, combing their hair, catching lice, and dressing them up for the night's dance. Some were putting the finishing touches to a brave's shirt, trimming the tops and sleeves with gray ribbons, while the bottom was left unhemmed. Two young fellows were playing tom-toms, a drum with one head, and all the rest were singing their monotonous song "Ty-yi, ty-yi, ty-yi, ty-yi." A large group of young Indians were playing a sort of "three-card monte" with three square cloth pads lying on a blanket spread upon the ground and around which the players were sitting. The player hid a bullet under one of the pads; the player opposite, with a long stick in his hand, watched the proceedings. When the bullet had been hidden the finder struck the blanket a sharp rap with the stick, and if the bullet did not roll out he took the point of the stick and overturned the pad under which he thought it was. If successful the first time, he had won his point; when he had to turn all the pads over before he found it, he lost. The young Indians were not at all embarrassed by our presence, and it was interesting to watch their faces and actions as they played. Near by a group of youngsters were arranged in file one behind the other, hopping up and down, a step forward at a time, describing a circle, and singing "ty-yi" to the music of the tom-toms. This they called dancing.

We saw the bride and groom to be in her mother's tent. The tent was thrown wide open. Sitting upon a couch of skins and furs were the bridal pair, with her mother seated near by on a box, sewing. When the Indians came begging for food they always left their ornaments at home for fear you would want some in exchange; but every one was bedecked that day, and the bride was simply loaded with ornaments. Every finger was stiff with rings. Her ears had three rings apiece; one at the top, one in the middle, and a heavy pendant in the lower lobe; besides, there was a succession of bracelets from her wrists nearly to her elbows, and anklets encircled her shapely ankles and calves. And the beads; well, there was enough to make a white girl's eyes sparkle with admiration. There was every color, every size and kind imaginable; some very pretty, others ugly. The strands nearest her neck were short, with succeeding strands and bunches of strands longer and longer, until the whole front to below the waist line was solid beads. The brave was dressed up too in beads, feathers and paint; and both looked supremely happy, while genuine regard and love shone from their eyes. They were not afraid of us, and had considerable fun at our expense. We could not understand their words, but the expression of their faces and the stolid disgust of her mother as she looked upon us, was readable. We saw the white dogs they were fattening for the wedding feast, and which three days later were converted into dog soup.

But the greatest object of interest was that medicine council tent; and we saw where all those rushes that were cut from our swamp the fall before had gone. Of course we wanted to see what we knew we could not; but our party approached the tent where stood a young, or nearly middle-aged, brave on guard at the door. Our spokesman asked if we might enter. The guard shook his head as if he could not understand. We asked again and again, and received a "No" that had a tone to it that said, "You ought to know better." Then our spokesman began

of that year a Missouri Sauk came among them with the smallpox, which spread rapidly from village to village and greatly alarmed the Indians. At the request of the chiefs a physician was appointed for them, Dr. Edwin R. Griffith. A majority of the Indians had been exposed. Nearly all of the Sauks and a portion of the Foxes submitted to inoculation, and encamped a mile from the agency for that purpose. Of the 1700 who were inoculated, forty died, and nearly every one of the forty was suffering with some fever when inoculated. Those who refused inoculation were under the influence of an old Winnebago prophet, and scattered in the hope of escaping the smallpox. Later in the season, when the Indians began using green corn, an epidemic of flux carried away many, the mortality among the children being greatest. About 300 deaths had occurred in the tribe from all causes since April, 1851. Mr. Chenault writes:

"The traders say the tribes have drank less liquor this spring and summer than heretofore. Keokuk and Pow-a-shick are both well-disposed men, but neither are sons of temperance. Tuck-quas, a chief of a strong band of Sauks, never tastes liquor, and his influence has made his band the most sober and the best regulated band in the tribe."³⁷

It was ever thus; temperate life and habits insure the most perfect individual and community.

arguing with him, and several of the party began talking. Looking the young man squarely in the eyes the guard said sternly, "You talk too much with your mouth." We gave a shout of merriment as we dispersed. The guard never relaxed his visage, but there was a twinkle in his eyes.

A little later I remarked to one of the party that I would like to see inside of that tent, and was informed that around on the back side, out of sight of everybody, about the center of the long tent, was a place where I could see inside. "But," he added, "it's dangerous to be caught at it; don't let anyone see you go." So watching my opportunity, I tiptoed around that tent down a well-beaten path, cautiously—for there were only the rushes between me and the braves in council. I readily found the opening left by a short rush mat that would not reach up quite as high as the rest, and was the only defective spot in the whole wall of the tent, and had been placed behind to keep the curious from temptation. In the center of the long room, right opposite me, was a fire on the ground, and the whole interior was filled with smoke. I could understand now why so many Indians had sore eyes. I could see how the tent had been fashioned. The roof was made of layers of rush cloth with a hole in the center for the smoke to escape, and through which a part of it was curling. A framework of poles had been set up. The wall was one strip of the same cloth fastened to the supports of the roof poles.

There were about seventy-five men inside the tent; some old, some middle-aged, but all very sedate and solemn. They were seated tailor fashion upon skins, on the ground, with their backs to the wall of the tent; and I observed I dare not touch this wall for the life of me for fear the Indian who was sitting within a few inches of me, and whom I was almost standing over, could feel my touch and presence. So I never stirred—simply looked. These Indians were in full dress, costumes they rarely wore when foraging for something to eat, which I had read about, but had never seen. They were most gorgeously bedecked, and painted to the highest notch. No two of them were decorated alike. My heart stood still with fear, but chief Big John was there, and I knew him. He had been a personal friend of my sister's family for twenty-five years, and he liked white people; and I reflected he would let no harm come to me. So I watched. Some of the men looked kindly and good, and there was a benign, dignified expression and bearing, indicative of a communion with the Great Spirit. Others had a hideous look, revolting in the extreme; faces deeply scarred during war, and who would not hesitate an instant to scalp an enemy or commit any depredation. I shuddered as I looked them over, but I remembered that during the uprising of the Sioux in Minnesota agents were sent by them to Wisconsin to induce these Indians to join them, but John had not consented, for he had signed a treaty promising not to take the warpath again, and his people could not dig up the tomahawk: though if any of the young men wanted to go to Minnesota on their own account they might. And thus he had saved the white settlers of Wisconsin from massacre, and I was comforted to know they could not nor would not be allowed to follow the instincts of their depraved natures.

The spokesman of the council was talking. It was all Choctaw to me, but he soon began marching around the fire, and one after another they got up and followed him around; and grunting and nodding satisfaction, were again seated. Then another spoke, and when he concluded he walked around the fire, but no one followed him, and he sat down. Others made speeches, and walked around the fire; followed sometimes by two or three, sometimes by a dozen or more, all chanting. It seemed as if those who were marching after a speaker were acquiescing in what he said, while those who did not sat still. Finally one fine old Indian, who seemed to have the attention of the assembly, made a lengthy talk, and when he started around the fire, every brave, as he passed them, arose and followed, until the whole of them were marching around the circle chanting, and every one of them was passing not more than two feet from my eye. The thought came, What if one of them turn his head? and I precipitately fled.

In 1852, Mr. Chenault thinks that—

“More died from smallpox and flux in 1851 than reported; also, that a large number died from pneumonia and other diseases while on their winter hunt. Their country is healthy; but the use of liquors, which the squaws are sent fifty miles to procure, and which are immediately buried, and taken out in small quantities to escape detection, may be ascribed their rapid decrease. The distribution of land to be cultivated is very unequal, the braves being governed more by a predilection for persons or families in making a division than by any principle of justice. The common men of the tribe who have never killed an enemy in battle have no voice in council. The present system of paying annuities to heads of families has had a salutary effect in breaking down, to some extent, the despotic influence of a few chiefs and braves. Now many of the common people are anxious to abandon their towns and have farms built for them. The agricultural fund of \$30,000 cannot be used unless the chiefs give their consent, which they refuse, as it would lessen their control over the separate fields. Keokuk is the only chief who is willing to have this fund applied to making separate fields.

“The practice of recognizing requests signed by chiefs to pay debts contracted by individuals as binding, and authorizing the amount to be deducted from the common annuities of the tribe, is well calculated to make Indians dishonest. An Indian who has been in the habit of paying all his debts, when he sees that his per capita annuity is taken to pay the debts of the dishonest or profligate portion of the tribe, who stand in with certain chiefs, feels the injustice of the rule, and often refuses to pay his debts when he has the ability and inclination to do so.”

Chenault thought the surplus lands should be opened up to white settlers by the government, and the Indians concentrated. This he believed would oblige the Sauks and Foxes to take up agriculture as a means of support, and spend their funds for educational purposes.³⁸ This is the beginning of the end in Kansas.

The Agency of B. A. James, 1853-'57.

George W. Manypenny, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, was sent to Kansas in 1853 to make treaties with the Indians, for the purpose of opening a portion of their territory to settlement, in accordance with the bills then under discussion in Congress.

B. A. James, of Missouri, was appointed agent for the Sauks and Foxes that year, and continued in that capacity for five years, a longer period than any except their friend, John Beach, who brought them to Kansas. The Indians promised Mr. James³⁹ that, if they did not sell their land, they intended to commence work and live like the whites. At their last payment they numbered about 2173. They had two gunsmiths, one blacksmith and an assistant. Their annuity was \$71,000 in money, forty kegs of tobacco, and forty barrels of salt. Twenty thousand of this annuity would expire with the salt and tobacco in 1862.

At this time there were great temperance societies and thousands were signing total abstinence pledges all over the United States, so Mr. James, seeing the great need of reform among the Sauk and Fox nation, held a council with them on the 16th of August, 1853, at which very nearly the whole nation was present. All the chiefs, braves and head men signed the following:

“We, the undersigned, chiefs, braves and head men of the Sauk and Fox tribe of Indians, do hereby promise our agent, B. A. James, and through him

NOTE 38.—Com'r Indian Affairs, 1852, p. 381.

NOTE 39.—Ibid, 1853, p. 342.

our great father at Washington City, that we will use all the means in our power to prevent our people from bringing liquor among us, and should any of our tribe go to the state [Missouri] for whisky, we pledge ourselves to inform our agent of it, in order that the same may be spilled."

It will be observed that Missouri then, as now, furnished all the "booze," and then, as now, "it was ordered to be spilled."

But Mr. James had a reason for excluding liquor, other than for the best good of the Indians; for although the Kansas-Nebraska bill was not passed until the next year, the project was in formation whereby Kansas was to be settled by slave owners before the North was aware of it, as was Missouri in 1821. Mr. James had brought his slaves with him and did not want them taught the drink habit. They built for themselves quarters near the agency residence.

The year 1854 was a dry one.⁴⁰ Very little corn, potatoes or other vegetables were raised. White settlers were coming in, and a doggery, eight miles from the agency, supplied the Indians with more liquor in six months than they had ever been known to use before. Missourians were rushing in with their slaves. Now isn't that like later temperance history in Kansas? It has been alternately dry and wet ever since. It shows that the habit, once formed, is hard to break, and that no matter how or when, or what may be the race, or the intelligence of the individual, alcohol always does its deadly work.

The season was so unfruitful that the Sauks and Foxes took an extended hunt, and, as game was scarce, went farther than usual—a hundred miles west of Fort Riley. During the summer of 1853,⁴¹ the government had made its first treaty with the Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches at Fort Atkinson, and for certain presents they had agreed to allow the government to establish roads and military posts, to cease to molest travelers and to make incursions into Mexico. So, in this year of 1854, these Indians, together with some bands of Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Osages, gathered at the Pawnee Fork for the purpose of "wiping out" all the emigrant Indians they could find upon the plains.⁴² Plainsmen said it was the largest gathering ever known on the Arkansas, and before their agent, John W. Whitfield, could reach them with their annuity, the warriors had started north. They numbered about 1500, and owned from 40,000 to 50,000 horses and mules. A hundred miles west of Fort Riley they came upon our hunters, only 100 in number. It was such a handful they thought they were going to have a picnic. With war whoops they charged; our braves rushing to the shelter of a ravine, where they took their stand. All attempts to dislodge them or drive them from the ravine proved fruitless. The Sauks and Foxes had guns and knew how to use them, not one bullet going astray. The majority of the attacking party used bows and arrows. Had they succeeded in driving the little band from their station out upon the prairie, they could have easily ridden them down and speared them. But they reckoned without their host, for the fire of these stalwart Indians was so fierce and furious that the 1500 plains Indians ingloriously fled, leaving their dead

NOTE 40.—Comm'r Indian Affairs, 1854, p. 311.

NOTE 41.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1853, p. 359; Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 600.

NOTE 42.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1854, pp. 297, 312.

and wounded behind, a thing Indians do not do unless they are very badly whipped. The plains Indians lost 16 killed outright and 100 wounded, besides a number of horses, while our fighters lost only five or six killed. They were enabled by the swift flight of their enemy to get all their scalps, which they brought home with them to the agency, where they had a dance of victory. This battle occurred July 10, 1854.

The Sauks and Foxes accused the Osage Indians of doing all the execution in the fight against them, as they had fine guns, and as they were neighbors it was nothing short of treachery. After a month had elapsed, and it had been talked over, and the Osages had reached home, one young Sauk, whose brother had been killed in the battle, mounted his pony and rode to within 400 yards of an Osage encampment, where he met two Osage men, and shot and scalped one. He could have killed the other, but he had only one death to avenge; besides, he wanted the other to carry the news of what he had done to the village. He waited until he heard the cries of those in the camp for the dead warrior, and mounting his pony and carrying his scalp, he returned home. Thus we see that not only were the Sauks and Foxes honest, keeping their word, but brave, and relentless in executing revenge against treachery and injustice, and they proved also that after years of peace, and without any practice in warfare whatever, they could, when occasion required it, exhibit their fighting stock. This was the last battle in which the Sauks and Foxes engaged, and, considering the circumstances and the disparity of numbers, was as great a victory as was ever won by Black Hawk. We are glad they had one more opportunity to show their heroism and blue blood, and that they gained so brilliant a victory.

Mr. James says, in the same year, that "the Indians need a missionary in agriculture—a man to teach them how to farm, to work, to use the different kinds of tools, and above all to be with them and set an example before them." That was Mr. James's opportunity and privilege. But no; he was setting the example before them that a white man must not work, and that labor belonged to the black man, and was an inheritance to him forever.

The year 1855 saw bountiful crops and the beginning of the border war. Governor Reeder had arrived, and in due time was accused by Secretary Marcy (the same interesting old plotter who had helped to connive with Polk and his cabinet to bring on the Mexican war for the purpose of extending slave territory) of fraud in land deals with the Indians, and who, removed from office, was obliged to go East and answer to those charges, and to leave the state incognito in order to save his life. Secretary Woodson succeeded Reeder, and Governor Shannon succeeded Woodson that year. The capital was removed from Pawnee to Shawnee Mission, and the next year to Lecompton. Events crowded so fast and furious that we are led to believe that these things occupied Mr. James's mind largely, for although the first census of Kansas was taken that year, he does not give the enumeration of the Indians. But he does recognize the proslavery legislature, when he says, "An efficient law passed by the present legislature to prevent the sale of liquor to the Indians would do much toward their civilization," and then suggests that as the Indians have more land than they can possibly ever use, treaties should be made for a part of their lands.⁴³

NOTE 43.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1855, p. 425.

The year before seven treaties had been made in Washington, whereby seven tracts of land had been ceded in eastern Kansas by the Indians, and Missouri settlers were moving in with their slaves.

The following is Mr. James's record for 1856.⁴⁴

"The Sauk and Fox Indians have made no advancement during my residence here. They are decreasing every year—they number 300 less than they did at my first enrollment. Liquor is the great drawback upon this tribe; we have doggeries all around us, and it is impossible to keep these Indians away from them. The men will not work."

Mr. James advances this suggestion toward the solution of the Indian problem:

"Not a dollar should ever be paid to an Indian in money. Supply him in goods, mechanical and agricultural implements, such as his wants require, but never give him money. If you wish to civilize an Indian you must first make him know that he is dependent upon his own exertions for a support; teach him how to work, and then to love it. After this is accomplished he is ready and fit to receive an education—not before."

The border war was on. Governor Woodson had declared the territory in a state of insurrection and rebellion; proslavery troops still intimidated the free-state settlers; Osawatomie had been sacked, and John Brown's son Frederick had been killed. Lawrence was the headquarters of the free-state forces, who organized for self-protection, and later indulged in some wholesome revenge. Individual free-state men gave shelter and aid to runaway slaves who succeeded in reaching Lawrence. To counteract this a small body of proslavery troops, who had become too disreputable to be recognized by their former leader, Capt. H. Clay Pate, had a rendezvous a little bit to one side of the route from Missouri to Lawrence, near the edge of the Sauk and Fox reservation, some six miles from the agency, on government land, where they might intercept any negroes on their way to Lawrence, and take them into slave territory and sell them, retaining the money. Not only did they steal from the free-state settlers, but foraged upon proslavery men, and there was no crime in the category of crimes uncommitted by them. To put an end to these marauders, in the fall of 1856, a free-state company of thirty men, under Chas. W. Leonhardt, began their march from Lawrence at midnight. Upon reaching the neighborhood of the camp they divided into two companies, and slowly approached the ravine in which these men, the Shannon Guards, were lying about their camp fire. Each man of one platoon crept cautiously, advancing to within range, and knelt until they heard the approach across the ravine of the other platoon. The entrapped men sprang up, and in the stillness of the night the captain's order rang out deep and ominous, "Attention, company." The dazed men who had huddled around the camp fire attempted to seize their guns and form in line. But the free-state men had the drop on them. "Take aim!" Instantly every free-state man covered a border ruffian. "Fire!" Thirty rifles were instantaneously discharged, the roar of which was followed by awful, unearthly shrieks, reverberating through the ravine. Every one of the twenty-two men were dead, and they were immediately buried. Before daylight the free-state men had galloped to their respective homes, had

NOTE 44.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1856, p. 677.

slipped into bed, their absence unnoticed, and an act of retribution, awful, severe and just (?) had been performed.⁴⁵

For the year 1857, the agent reports:⁴⁶

"At the spring payment there were 1367 Indians—381 less than in 1853. They did not cultivate all told more than 300 acres of land"; and adds, "nor will they do so as long as they receive so large an annuity. They live, with but three or four exceptions, in bark houses, shave their heads, dress with blankets and leggings, and universally paint. They go in the spring and fall to hunt buffalo, and are frequently short of provisions, and often steal hogs from the Ottawas."

Agency Under Francis Tymony, 1858-'59.

In 1858 a small body of the Sauks and Foxes of the Missouri were adopted⁴⁷ into the Sauk and Fox division of the Mississippi, the united tribes amounting to about 1330 members, a decrease of 37, plus the number of Missouri Indians, which Mr. Tymony does not state. He gives as a reason for this decline—

"Exposure and sickness brought on by their proximity to a dissolute and unprincipled white population which surrounds this reservation, who sell them liquor of the most poisonous kind, and receive their blankets and robes, leaving them exposed to the weather on the prairies, to take cold or fever."

There were two significant occurrences this year relating to the bone of contention in Kansas: President Buchanan said, "Slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the constitution of the United States. Kansas is therefore, at this moment, as much a slave state as South Carolina or Georgia."⁴⁸ The Kansas legislature having passed a law abolishing slavery, the governor appointed by the national Executive vetoed it.⁴⁹

Agent Tymony called a council August 25, 1858. He too was a slaveholder and was getting anxious for the land he desired, and wanted new slave-holding neighbors.⁵⁰ Their principal men for the first time agreed that a mill and manual-labor school for their children would be a great benefit, but would not allow their funds used to procure them.

Mr. Tymony states that white settlers have farms within the northern borders of the reservation, and have cut much of the Indians' timber (this is hard on our Dragoon neighbors), and adds that the Indians suffer also

NOTE 45.—During Col. Richard J. Hinton's visit to Kansas in January, 1900, while in the rooms of the Historical Society, he called for James Redpath's "Roving Editor," and turning to page 346, he said he had given the author the information there recorded regarding the "Fate of the — Guards," that the leader of the free-state company was Gen. Chas. W. Leonhardt, and that it was himself who had fainted at the first volley. Colonel Hinton stated that before starting out on this expedition he had satisfied himself that the victims were worthy of death. They were men who had been discarded by the more reputable proslavery military parties. Colonel Leonhardt is said to have at one time contemplated publishing a volume embracing, among other early Kansas material, this story.

NOTE 46.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1857, p. 184.

NOTE 47.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, 1858, p. 118.

NOTE 48.—From message of President Buchanan, transmitting Lecompton constitution to Congress, February 2, 1858.

NOTE 49.—Kansas territorial legislature, Council Journal, 1858, p. 263.

NOTE 50.—Mrs. Fanny Goodell Nadeau, in writing of slavery at the agency, says all the agents from Handy to James kept slaves, all were Democrats (proslavery men), and the first free-state man was Perry Fuller. She also says that none of the Sauks and Foxes ever owned slaves; and she was happy to say there were no mixed bloods, save one, and that was occasioned by a marriage with one of the refugee Indians who came up from the South, in whom was some negro blood, although it was not known at the time.

from horse thieves, and recommends that a small company of dragoons should be stationed in or near the reservation to protect the Indians. A state of war still existed between the Comanches and Sauks and Foxes, but the agent prevented his charges from going on a war expedition that summer.

In the latter part of October, 1858, agent Tymony, aided by United States soldiers under Lieut. O. H. Fish, present at the agency to keep peace at the payment, resisted the United States marshal in the arrest of persons charged with the murder, the previous August, of — Johnson and Roswell Shaw, who had been accused of horse stealing. The murderers, among whom were two Randol, (or Randall) the same surname as the agency trader Harker S. Randol, had taken refuge at the agency, and escaped through Tymony's action, greatly exasperating the people of Franklin county. Tymony was arrested by order of the United States district court for resisting process, but secured bail. Seven letters, October 17-29, 1858, have been found in the archives relative to this affair, written by Tymony, acting governor H. S. Walsh, Joel K. Goodin, and Associate Justice Rush Elmore.

The Agency Under Perry Fuller, 1859-'60.

As early as 1858 certain speculators coveted the Sauk and Fox lands. This tribe had been besought for the past six years to sell their surplus lands, to be opened up for the extension of "the institution," but so far the wary Indians had refused. Consequently the Sauk and Fox lands in Osage county were never cursed with slavery other than through the agent's family, though Fry P. McGee held slaves at the 110 crossing. Mr. Fuller⁵¹ took charge of the agency for these speculators in May, 1859. He reports the number of Sauks and Foxes as 1237, a decrease of 93 the past year; the per capita payment as \$28; the valuation of property, \$69,422.

Evidently in his management Mr. Fuller was smooth. He states that on the 21st of June the chiefs had unitedly, with most of the braves, called upon him to attend a council, the object being to make a treaty. Their anxiety caused him to examine into the matter, which satisfied him there was a growing conviction of years' duration among them, that their interest would be better subserved by a concentration of their people on a small reservation, with influences provoking to industry. He thinks they could

NOTE 51.—The parents of Perry Fuller died of cholera in 1832 or 1833, leaving four children. Dr. Charles Chandler, of Chandlerville, Cass county, Ill., found homes for the two older children and took the two youngest to raise himself. Perry he bound to him and gave him a good education. When he was married to Miss Sarah Keethley, in 1852, Doctor Chandler gave him a start in life. The next year Perry Fuller emigrated to Sonora, Atchison county, Mo., and leaving his wife there with her brother-in-law, George W. Logan, went to Westport landing. Here he soon found employment with Northrup & Chick, in their warehouse, receiving \$5.00 a day checking goods from the steamboats, and soon sent for his wife. He was a bright and handsome young man, and seems to have gained the good will of his employers. When Kansas was opened for settlement Fuller took a claim at Centropolis, Franklin county. Colonel Chick said to him, "You will have to stay on your claim until you prove up. The Sauk and Fox agency is near. You build a store and we will let you have goods on credit to trade with them." He sold, it is said, \$40,000 worth of goods the first year. Perry Fuller was interested in the Minneola capital scheme, building a store at that place, which was opened by Thomas McCage, who had married his eldest sister. He supported Thomas Buchanan, serving through 1859 and 1860. He was appointed collector of imports at New Orleans by Andrew Johnson, but was removed by General Grant. He died suddenly in Washington about 1873, a comparatively poor man. Mr. Fuller was a staunch supporter of Senator Ross in the troubles growing out of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. Doctor Chandler was long an intimate friend of Lincoln, and Fuller used to say that he could not remember the day he did not know Lincoln. It is probably this early acquaintance that gave him some prestige in Lincoln's time. He had great political influence in Kansas during the period of the war.



MOSES KEOKUK.
Second successor to Keokuk.

JOHN GOODELL.
Interpreter.

SHAW-PAW-KAW-KAH.
Black Hawk Band.

spare 290,133 of the 435,200 acres of land they then possessed on the Osage, or Marais des Cygnes, river.

James Buchanan was President. The Secretary of the Interior, Jacob Thompson, sent A. B. Greenwood⁵² to the Sauk and Fox agency to negotiate the treaty. At the council of October 1, 1859, when this treaty was presented for the signature of the chiefs and head men, Shaw-paw-kaw-kah made a speech before the commissioner and the agent, Perry Fuller, which was interpreted by John Goodell. This speech was reported to me by Geo.

NOTE 52.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1859, pp. 520, 381.

W. Logan, who heard it delivered. It was not only a just arraignment, but a prophecy that was later fulfilled.

SHAW-PAW-KAW-KAH'S SPEECH.

"I submit to the commissioners and the Great Father that this whole arrangement, from the commencement to the end, is to consume our treasury, and to give into the hands of the speculators our money and our lands, to make us poor and dependent, and to degrade us; and finally to take our lands from us that we own here. We will eventually have to surrender this diminished reservation. We will have to give up the graves of our fathers and mothers, and their bones will be dug up, and the sacred emblems that are buried with them will be made a show of by the same men that call us heathen, and are trying to teach us a new religion. Even now we have to hide our dead ones. Their graves have been polluted. We find their bones on the roadside and in the windows of offices in our midst.

"You will waste \$5000 a year on the mixed-blood children, whose fathers are the very worst of the white race and the refuse of the earth. They brought to the agency whisky and tobacco, and taught the Indians to swear, and their children have proved universally bad.

"Of course, I will be compelled to sign these papers, but I sign them under protest, knowing in my own heart that there is no good in it for the Indians."

The Indians ceded⁵³ in trust to the government a strip six and one-half miles wide from the eastern side of the reserve, embracing all of their lands in Franklin county, and on the west all their lands west of the east line of range 16, Osage county, comprising in all 300,000 acres, reserving for themselves 153,600 acres within the original tract, twelve miles wide by twenty miles north and south. The diminished reserve was to be apportioned as follows: To every full-blood Indian, 80 acres of land; for the agency, 160 acres, and a quarter section for the establishment and support of a school⁵⁴ Each Indian was to be given a certificate of title to his land, subject to the control and under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior. Of the trust lands, the treaty gave every half-breed 320 acres, and to every squaw that had married a white man the same. The allotment of Thos. Connelly, a half-breed, was to include "Randal's" dwelling and trading house. The remainder was to be sold under sealed bids for the benefit of the Indians, and especially for the payment of their debts. The agency in Franklin county was to be abandoned, and a new agency built. Each man's farm was to be fenced and a house built for him.

The treaty was signed by all the chiefs save Maw-me-wah-ne kah, who was bitterly opposed to the whole plan. He was a minor chief, however, and the treaty was sent to Washington, where it was ratified by Congress June 27, 1860, hence it is called the treaty of 1860. Mr. James, upon leaving the agency for Missouri, freed the family of slaves which he had brought with him in 1853. Hon. H. F. Sheldon, of Ottawa, informs me in a recent letter that the father of this family was named Garrison James, the mother was Frances, and they had seven children, named America, Marion, Minnie, Maria, Edith and William; name of the other not known. In 1867 Garrison James bought eighty acres of land about five miles southwest of Ottawa, living there until 1890, when he sold and went to Oklahoma. None of the

NOTE 53.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol 2, p. 796.

NOTE 54.—Mrs. Fuller suggested the designation of land for school purposes, it is said. She was a most noble woman.

family remain in Franklin county, but William is said to be living at Lawrence.

In 1860 occurred the great drought,⁵⁵ and the people suffered but did not lose heart or faith. Politics ran high and food was scarce. The Indians were obliged to depend largely upon themselves, and were hunting most of the time. Mr. Fuller gives the enumeration as 1280 individuals; property, \$70,622; annual payment, \$35,500; and remarks that "All the members of the nation with whom I have conversed express themselves as well pleased with the late treaty, and want its provisions carried out at once." There were 160 children of school age, and "the reflecting portion of the tribe are anxious to have schools established. The nation has been much annoyed and injured by unprincipled whites who have stolen their ponies and horses, and committed other depredations upon their property," yet they did not at any time manifest a disposition to retaliate upon the offenders, but trusted to the government to make it right with them. The site for the new agency was chosen, and the first load of lumber was hauled for the new building by George W. Logan, whose wife was a sister of Perry Fuller's wife, and who has since lived continuously in Quenemo, then the agency site, and to whom we are largely indebted for information. While the building of the new agency is going on let us get acquainted with a few prominent individuals of the nation.

We have already been introduced to Moses Keokuk; then there was Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, the orator. Although not speaking nor understanding English, his gestures were perfect, his expression and intonation commanding, until it was an inspiration to listen to him, though not understanding what he said. He had but one wife, Wau-pes-se-taw, two daughters and a son.

The agency interpreter was John Goodell, a white man, who had been adopted into the tribe. He was a Christian, a Methodist, and had an influence for good, for civilization and a higher life. He lived with the tribe continuously as one of them, loved and respected by all, until his death at the Quenemo agency. He had married an Indian woman, Mrs. Julia Mitchell, July 4, 1840, in Iowa, and together they shared the fortunes and misfortunes of the Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi. Mrs. Julia Mitchell Goodell, whose picture is here given, was the most remarkable woman of the tribe. During the Black Hawk War, when the Sauks and Foxes were hard pressed, the squaws packed hastily, and moved to safer ground. Mrs. Mitchell placed her few belongings on her pony, and swung her child upon her back. In the course of her flight it became necessary to swim the Wisconsin river near where it empties into the Mississippi, and where it is deep and swift and wide. Driving her pony before her, with her baby on her back, she plunged fearlessly into the stream. The pony drowned, but Mrs. Mitchell and little Mary gained the opposite shore in safety, a feat but few braves themselves could have accomplished. Two years later, while at the mission school one Sunday afternoon, Mrs. Mitchell took a walk along the river, and strolled upon a sand bar in the stream. Thinking of her little hair-covered trunk, she saw the corner of something sticking out of the sand, and with her foot pushed the sand away. She could hardly believe it could be her trunk, but kept digging, and when she got it out, it was her

NOTE 55.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1860, p. 110.



MRS. JULIA GOODELL.

Who swam the river with child on her back.

own trunk. Like the old-time custom, her bunch of keys was on a brass chain hanging to her belt. She took the key and unlocked the water-soaked trunk and saw her things, but as she took hold of them they went to pieces, excepting the silver brooches that were on her clothes, and silver coins. Her pocketbook that had been given her, and which was filled with bills taken from someone, she never knew who, was soaked, and the bills as she touched them fell to pieces.

The baby, little Mary Mitchell, was adopted by Lieut. Wm. Hill. He died soon, however, and her next guardian was a Mr. Moore, a sutler at Fort Crawford, near Prairie Du Chien, Wis. She was educated at a Quaker school in Philadelphia, and when very young married a young white man by the name of Thomas Means. She had a serious and hard trial by his desertion of her for a young white woman. Although she did not remember of

ever having seen her mother, in her trouble she joined her and John Goodell at the Sauk and Fox agency in Kansas, in 1848. At this time she was known as Mrs. Mary Means.

Mrs. Goodell thought much of her people, always attending their feasts, etc. She said she did not want to lose her influence. The Goodells were always doing for others, and their home was an asylum for the orphans, the sick and the afflicted. They adopted twin children, whom they named Fanny and Isaac Goodell, and upon whom they bestowed the same care and attention, and gave the same privileges, or even better, than they did their own. This was probably due to the fact that their only son, John Goodell, and their only daughter, Sarah, were older than these twins, and the educational advantages were better later. Yet they had been taught at home, and were able to speak and write English and knew the use of figures. Mrs. Julia Goodell died at the Sauk and Fox agency, Oklahoma, January 8, 1880.

Among the more advanced people of the reserve were Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, the orator of the nation, the first man among them who favored education; Longhorn and his son and grandson, Jack Miles, Willie Harris, and the Whistler family. Mr. McConse, who communed with the Great Spirit and was chief of the neighboring Chippewas, and Mr. William Hurr, an Ottawa, were with them and exerted their influence for good. There were also Henry C. Jones, Moses Keokuk's young son Charley, his two little sisters, Walter Battice, Chief Chick-o-skuk and his son Joe, every one of them with long Indian names, all living the simple life, just on the dawn of a better one.

It was during Mr. Fuller's time that Rev. R. P. Duvall⁵⁶ and wife were sent by the Kansas Methodist Conference as missionaries to the Sauks and Foxes. Both were devoted, and saw a virgin field of usefulness, and their coming was opportune. Mr. Duvall gathered about him those who would hear, and talked to them, while Mr. Goodell interpreted. Among the things Mrs. Duvall brought with her to the far West was a little, old-fashioned, sweet-toned melodeon, which she used in their church worship, and the Indians flocked to see her play it, and to hear the singing; and as Mr. Goodell interpreted the words, they got a good many lessons of divine truth. That melodeon, the singing, and the real, genuine love and affection that this devoted couple had for the Indians won their hearts and consent for a school to learn the white man's books. Mr. and Mrs. Richard Duvall lived at the mission for two years.

The Agency Under Clinton C. Hutchinson, 1861-'62.

It was during Mr. Hutchinson's term as agent here, having also under his care the Chippewas, Munsees and Ottawas, that the Ottawas provided by their treaty of 1862 for a tribal school. Mr. Hutchinson was a member of the Kansas Baptist Convention of 1860, and was a member of the committee⁵⁷ on an educational institution. He was still a member of that committee when the convention of 1864, at Ottawa,⁵⁸ adopted a report favoring the establishment of the Ottawa University, which succeeded to the endowment, in some measure, of the tribal school.

NOTE 56.—Rev. RICHARD P. DUVALL was born in Zanesville, Ohio, April 7, 1829, and was licensed to preach in 1853, having finished his education at Ohio Wesleyan University. In 1854 he was appointed as a supply on a circuit in Northern Ohio Conference, and in 1855 was appointed to the Adrian work. He came to Kansas in 1856; was present at the organization of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference, held at Lawrence, October, 1856. He was the first man to receive orders from the Methodist Conference on Kansas soil. In the latter part of 1856 he married Miss Sarah C. Black, of Kalida, Ohio.

Mr. Duvall took an active part on the missionary and other committees from 1856 to 1871, when he was placed on the supernumerary list, and, with the consent of Conference, attended Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. During his service in Kansas he had the following appointments: Oskaloosa, in 1856; circuit of Quindaro, Wyandot and Delaware, in 1857; Spring Hill, 1858-'59; Sauk and Fox agency, Greenwood, 1860-'61; chaplain of Sixth Kansas Volunteers, 1862-'63, address, Fort Scott; Sauk and Fox agency, Osage county, 1863-'65; Centropolis, 1866; Manhattan, 1867-'68; Holton, 1869-'70.

He was secretary of the Missionary Society of Conference in 1859, when \$700 was appropriated for Indian missions, as against \$600 in 1857. He began his work in 1860 with the Sauks and Foxes at Greenwood, at their agency, from which place he reported 20 members, 2 Sunday schools with 10 officers and teachers, 65 pupils, 2 Bible classes, expense \$35, library of 300 volumes. The persons enrolled undoubtedly included the white people connected with the agency. In 1862 the call of war was stronger than that of missions, for Mr. Duvall was mustered into the Sixth Kansas Volunteers on March 7, serving until June 18, 1863, date of resignation.

He resumed work with the Sauks and Foxes on their new reservation in Osage county, with agency on the present site of Quenemo. In the conference of 1865 he proposed a plan to erect an orphanage for Indian children at Baldwin City. He received the approval of Conference to visit the East with a delegation of Indians to raise funds for this purpose, but no appropriation was made to assist in this matter, and as the funds furnished by the government and Indians were insufficient, he decided to resign his hopeless task as missionary. He was given a station at Centropolis in 1866. His services were greatly missed at the agency, for Agent Martin, Keokuk and other chiefs, with an interpreter, attended the conference of 1866, Keokuk making a personal appeal for a missionary. They commended the work of Mr. Duvall, and proposed to make provision for this work in a treaty then pending. Mr. Duvall also urged the appointment of a missionary to the Indians in the Indian Territory to take the field where the Methodist Episcopal Church South had worked prior to the Civil War.

His last station in Kansas was at Holton, in 1870. After a season at the Garrett Institute, he returned to Ohio and preached in the Toledo district. He was in failing health three years before his death, which occurred at Ottawa, Ohio, February 7, 1874, aged 45 years.

NOTE 57.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1860, p. 331; Kansas Baptist Convention Minutes, 1862, p. 8.

NOTE 58.—Kansas Baptist Convention Minutes, 1864, pp. 7, 8.

Mr. Hutchinson's report⁵⁹ runs as follows:

"August 8 [1861] I paid this tribe one-half of their semiannual payment, \$17,500. The roll used shows 392 men, 484 women and 465 children. This payment was deferred by the department, and all the numerous deaths since the previous payment in October, 1860, caused no reduction in the number, as the persons dying were allowed to be reckoned by their friends. All the Indians suffered materially from last year's drought. In their makeshifts for life their little personal property was considerably reduced. This I estimate at \$67,050."

More than half the tribe was by this time located on their individual property.

"Under the late administration a contract was made for the erection of 350 houses, together with mission buildings, and ploughed and fenced fields. One hundred and five houses⁶⁰ were completed last winter. By efforts of the department this contract was recently modified for the benefit of the Indians. Most of the tribe are pleased with the idea of sheltering themselves from the inclemency of the season in comfortable houses, and all are extremely anxious to have the fields fenced and ploughed."

The individual ownership of a few tools and some stock he hoped would prove an inducement toward the arts of civilized life. Many of the leading men were anxious for schools.

The agency farm had a council house and agent's residence. A mansion was built for Moses Keokuk, the hall and stairway being finished in solid, polished walnut, which is to this day most beautiful. In all, six houses were built for chiefs, etc., including a large house for Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, which he occupied only in stormy or severe weather, and a house for Chick-o-skuk, who was the Fox chief. There were at least 164 frame and stone houses built for other members of the tribe in the valley of the Marais des Cygnes, varying in size from 16x18 to 18x30 feet, having two rooms and a large porch each. The bottoms of the windows were placed six and one-half feet from the floor, so no one could see out or in. The government spent at least \$139,915.55 on the buildings, but the report does not show the cost of the fencing and breaking. These improvements were not the wish of the Indians, but the idea of white men that it was the correct plan to pursue to civilize them. A rich harvest was reaped by Robert S. Stevens, who certainly must have had some hold on the administration. Price's report, mentioned elsewhere, says:

"In July [1865] Agent Hutchinson notified this office that the houses were not finished according to contract—they lacked underpinning, were sinking into the ground, and would prove worthless for dwellings; also, that the ploughing was imperfectly done, leaving the ground in a worse condition for farming purposes than if it had not been touched."

NOTE 59.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1861, p. 61.

NOTE 60.—The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865, pp. 549-551, contains report of F. Price, showing disposition of Sauk and Fox trust-land receipts, including money paid Robert S. Stevens for the erection of houses. Edwards Bros.' Atlas of Osage county, 1879, p. 7, describes houses and disposition made of them by the Indians. Commissioner William P. Dole, in 1861, says: "My predecessor, Mr. Greenwood, negotiated a treaty with this tribe in 1859, providing for a distribution in severalty of eighty acres of land to each of its members, and the sale of their surplus lands to provide means to establish them in agricultural pursuits under favorable circumstances, and subsequently contracted for the building of houses for the various families upon their allotments. One hundred and five of these dwellings were built before I entered upon the discharge of the duties of commissioner. Believing it to be bad policy to build houses for Indians, instead of assisting and encouraging them to build for themselves, and that the prices stipulated were exorbitant, I ordered the work to be suspended. This order created so much dissatisfaction on the part of those Indians whose houses had not been built that I was induced to compromise with the contractor, and continue the work under other specifications and at greatly reduced prices." Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1861, p. 12.

The Indians abandoned their houses, carried off the doors and windows, and traded them for whisky or sold them to the surrounding settlers, taking whatever they could get, and used the frames as stables for their horses. Many of these houses were subsequently burned in prairie fires. Stevens worked the same scheme with the Kaw Indians. Not one of the smaller houses remains.

THE REFUGEE INDIANS.

During the early part of the Civil War the South made an attempt to enlist the tribes of the Indian Territory against the government. In many cases this divided the members of the tribe against themselves; and finally those loyal to the United States were obliged to leave their reservations and take refuge in Kansas. Among those stationed at the new Sauk and Fox agency were Cherokees, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, Euchees, Choctaws and Kickapoos. The intensely loyal old Creek chief, O-poth-le-go-ho-la, died there. The government sent the missionary of the Cherokees, who had lived among them for many years and who at the opening of hostilities had been obliged to flee north, to meet them in Kansas. Mr. Logan took him in his spring wagon to see his charges one beautiful spring morning in 1862. When they recognized their missionary, whom they had known and loved for many years, and whom they were not expecting, their joy was unbounded and such a reception as they gave him, as he stood in the back of that wagon, with shouts and tears, and words of welcome in Cherokee, that none but themselves and their missionary could understand!⁶¹

Major Hutchinson was anxious for all the Sauks and Foxes to occupy their farms, but Maw-me-wah-ne-kah, the Fox chief, refused to enroll for the allotment, and used his influence to prevent others from doing so. For this reason Agent Hutchinson removed him from his chieftainship, and with eleven families he returned to Tama, Iowa, where the Mesquite band had remained when the Sauks and Foxes left Iowa in 1845. Although the Kansas Sauks and Foxes have always been willing that the Iowa band should return, a few individuals only have done so, and are now living with the tribe in Oklahoma. They are all on good terms, however, and there is much visiting back and forth among them.⁶²

At the new agency at this time the Goodell family kept a hotel, where the weary traveler found a genuine welcome, and where the great mother heart of Mrs. Goodell found opportunities for charity. There were also at the agency Henry Hudson Wiggans, the blacksmith, and family; William Whistler, the trader, who married Sarah Goodell, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John Goodell, and who was a member of the Kansas legislature of 1871; George Logan and family; Perry Fuller, who had a big store; S. M. Black, the United States marshal, and family, and a few others.

NOTE 61.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1862, p. 170; 1863, pp. 184, 189, 176, 179, 198.

NOTE 62.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1866, p. 271: "This Maw-me-wah-ne-kah was at that time considered the Fox chief, and rather than be compelled to live in civilized houses and send their children to school, in 1861 he, with eleven families, went to Tama City, Iowa. None ever returned to stay—only returned from time to time for payment. Chick-o-skuk was then appointed Fox chief, and he was always in favor of schools. Ever since then the Foxes have tried to establish themselves in Iowa and the Sauk Indians down here, but not altogether, because Chick-o-skuk's band remained down here—for I am a Fox Indian, and many others. We claim this branch of the Sauk and Fox Indians in Oklahoma is the main branch of the Mississippi Sauk and Fox Indians, in that all treaties made with the government are made and entered into by this branch, and most of them being Sauks, it would naturally follow that the Sauks were the best, and furthermore, this branch has always favored education."—Walter Battice, June 1, 1910.

As Mr. Hutchinson has much to say for 1862,⁶³ we will quote:

"In the season for drying corn and pumpkins the Sauks and Foxes leave their houses, so long have they led a nomadic life, and pitch their tents in the midst of the ripened crops. In shelling and drying the corn and cutting the golden pumpkins, with which poles suspended in crotched sticks and trees soon become festooned, all the females, young and old, gleefully unite. I do not find the Indian the taciturn stoic I had been led to expect.

By themselves these Indians are as talkative and pleasant as whites, and I venture there sits in the world no council of state wherein more jokes are cracked, and retorts indulged in, always in the best of humor, than pass between the chiefs and braves of the Sauk and Fox council. These Indians have worn more shoes, hats and other garments of civilization this season than ever before. They have got two or three wagons, owned by Missouri Sauks who have moved among them, and in these have broken several pairs of ponies. . . . I have tried the potency of the law upon liquor sellers, but they are too wary to come upon the reservation, but are numerous around it in every direction. They can afford to pay a heavy fine every year if they can have an unmolested trade. The whisky cost in Leavenworth, being the cheapest and most poisonous kind, about twenty cents a gallon, and they sell it for from one to five dollars a gallon, and well watered. If Indians could not obtain it otherwise they would ride fifty miles for it, and if necessary pawn their last saddle and ride home bareback; or if in warm weather, sell their last blanket and go home naked. The roll at the last payment gave 1180 in all.

"One of the bands while out on the hunt this summer was surrounded by a party of Comanches, two of their women were taken prisoners, and all of their ponies stolen. Some of their tribe have procured a few hens, hogs and cattle. Most of the houses are occupied. Mission buildings have been erected, and most of the tribe are anxious for a school. One hundred acres of the mission farm and forty acres of the agency farm were fenced and broken this summer, and the whole put into sod corn. Refugee Cherokees did this work, but the drouth reduced it to fodder.

"I am sorry to report that a small party of these Indians recently visited the Kaw Indians and killed one of their most industrious men in an unprovoked assault. The Sauks and Foxes repudiate the act and desire the leaders punished. They also sent a messenger to the Kaws and offered to pay the relations of the deceased in ponies and goods. This arrangement was satisfactory to the Kaws. Without the gifts they would be entitled to take the life of a Sauk or Fox in revenge. As a characteristic of the Indian, I may mention that previous to sending the murderers prisoners to Fort Leavenworth, I obtained a promise from them, made in the presence of their chief Keokuk and other witnesses, that they would not attempt to escape if I left them unchained. They well knew they were going into confinement for some great offense, and as the leader of the party had previously killed two squaws of his own nation, whence he had derived the cognomen of Squaw killer, yet this batch of criminals kept their promise, and quietly went away seventy miles to prison, under the guidance of two unarmed men."

*The Agency Under Maj. H. W. Martin,*⁶⁴ 1862-'67.

Maj. H. W. Martin was in the Indian Territory when he received notice of his appointment to the Sauk and Fox agency from Commissioner W. P. Dole, in October, 1862, and began his service December 22. His assistants were: Interpreter, John Goodell; blacksmith, Henry Hudson Wiggins; gun-

NOTE 63.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1862, p. 106.

NOTE 64.—Maj. HENRY WOODSON MARTIN was born in Prestonburg, Ky., March 7, 1817, and died at his home on West Broadway, Mount Vernon, Ill., January 15, 1901. He resided in Kentucky until he was twenty-one years of age, when he moved to Illinois and settled at Paris, where for eighteen years he was engaged in the mercantile business under the firm name of Booth & Martin. In 1856 he emigrated to Kansas and settled at Tecumseh, near Topeka, where for many years he was prominent in the mercantile business. Here, in 1858, he became a charter member of the Kansas Odd Fellows, and first grand treasurer. He served in the Kansas state



HENRY W. MARTIN,
Indian Agent.

and house of William Whistler and his wife, Sarah Goodell. Doctor Wiley had a house, and then there was the tavern of Mr. Goodell. There were two mission buildings on the hill about a mile from the agency. I can remember Keokuk's house."

The Indians by this time were divided among themselves as to whether they wished to be educated or not. Many did not object so much to education as to the white man's religion. They had much honor, as we have already seen, and their word was sacred. They judged a white man's religion by his life, and that is a just judgment. The great majority of the white men associated with them were tricky and dishonest, teaching the young men vices instead of virtues. Geo. W. Logan⁶⁶ is my authority for the following bit of Sauk and Fox theology:

legislature of 1862. In moving to Kansas in 1856 he came just in time to pass through many thrilling scenes in the border warfare which preceded the rebellion. June 23, 1862, he was appointed special Indian agent to go with the military expedition which was then advancing upon the Indian Territory. His mission was to secure the loyalty of the Indians to the federal government, and their enlistment in the Union army. He served several months each with both the First and Second Indian regiments, where he ranked as major. He was appointed agent in October, 1862, of the Sauk and Fox Indians, beginning his service on the 23d of December. This position he held for five years. During this time, in company with several Indian chiefs, he visited Washington. In 1880 he moved to Eureka Springs, Ark., and after a residence there of twelve years, moved to Mount Vernon, where he resided with his daughter, Mrs. Bettie Cunningham. April 26, 1843, at Paris, Ill., he was united in marriage to Miss Catherine, daughter of Rev. John W. McReynolds, a prominent pioneer Methodist preacher. His wife, three sons and two daughters survive him. He was converted and joined the Methodist Episcopal church in Paris sixty years ago [1841], and until enfeebled by age was active in church life, holding many positions of trust in the church, of which he was a continuous member until he was translated to the church triumphant above. He was a true friend of the Indian, and always had their best interest at heart, and as long as he was agent kept them from being cheated. He was greatly beloved by them and called their "honest agent."

smith, George Anderson; doctor, Albert A. Wiley; marshal, S. M. Black, and a deputy; trader, Thomas C. Stevens, who lived in Leavenworth; his storekeeper and the postmaster, Mr. William Whistler; missionary, Rev. R. P. Duvall, and matron, Mrs. Duvall. Major Martin and Mr. Duvall were both in the war when the former received his appointment, and learning of Mr. Duvall's having already lived with the Sauks and Foxes for two years, and his partial knowledge of their language, Major Martin urged him to accept the position as missionary, and to open the school, which these good people did April 1, 1863.⁶⁵

Of the buildings at the new agency Bettie Cunningham says:

"We lived in the agent's house, a two-story frame. The office was in the corner of the yard, and the council house just outside the gate. The blacksmith, gunsmith and carpenter all had houses. There was the store

NOTE 65.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1863, p. 256.

NOTE No. 66.—GEORGE W. LOGAN was born in Belmont county, Ohio, in 1830, and moved

"Good Indians held communion with the Great Spirit, and had revelations from him. Their religion was of a spiritual nature, and you might as well differ with one of our good Methodist mothers who has felt the pardoning power of grace as with them. Shaw-paw-kaw-kah and McCoonse were among the number who held direct communication with the Great Spirit. McCoonse, a neighborly Chippewa, used to get very much excited and walk the floor, back and forth, like other zealots do, and say: 'Take white man seven years to learn theology; Indian learn him in one hour. Great gulf between the world and far hunting ground. Good Indian make him a straight pole (straight pole meaning a good life and perfect character); comes to the deep gulf (river of death) lays it over, shuts his eyes (in death), walks straight over into the happy hunting grounds.

"Bad Indian makes him crookety pole (bad life and character), comes to the gulf, lay pole over, shuts his eyes, crookety pole turns over, bad Indian falls into deep gulf, water carries him away. Bad Indian lost."

We submit this to be sound doctrine. It's a man's life and character that counts. The true possessor of grace will lead an honorable, honest, pure life, in word, deed and thought. A professed Christian who gambles, swears, drinks, overreaches his neighbor, or cheats in trade, will find when he reaches the "great gulf, lays down his pole, shuts his eyes," that he has a "crookety pole, and is lost." After all, we are all one in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Agent Martin's family consisted of himself, wife and two daughters, Bettie and Kate. Bettie taught a school for the white children in the council house, just outside the yard of the agent's residence. She was a great friend of Mrs. Duvall's and rode her pony Fonta out to the mission, a mile distant, and back, every day. When Mrs. Duvall had gathered together seven children from the wigwams, she opened her school. We quote from her letter:

"We had the children of three chiefs. Shaw-paw-kaw-kah's two daughters, Pioke, who was named Jane Goodell, and whom John Goodell adopted;

with his parents to Beardstown, Cass county, Illinois, in 1835, in the neighborhood of the Sauk and Fox Indians. Beardstown was the rendezvous of the state militia in the Black Hawk war.

Here he learned Indian words, and as a child became deeply interested in the Indian. He was well acquainted with Sylvia and Amanda Hall, who were captured by the Indians during the Black Hawk war, also with Henry E. Dummer and Rev. Redrick Horn, a Methodist minister, who made the treaty with the Indians and purchased the girls. Mr. Logan first came in 1852 to the Sauks and Foxes of the Missouri, who still live on the state line between Kansas and Nebraska. Previous to this, in about 1847, he had joined "the army of the invasion" organized by Owen Lovejoy and other abolitionists for the purpose of destroying slavery. As a member of the order, he was finally assigned to duty on the border, and went to Civil Bend, Iowa, from which place he examined the country on both sides of the river to Lamar, Mo. Civil Bend, Mr. Logan says, has since been washed into the Missouri, but the Iowa Historical Society has not been able to locate the town. The country on the west side of the river was uninhabited save by Indians and their agents, and at that time any white man was looked upon with suspicion unless he had a specific mission, with paper to show that fact; besides, there were no settlements. He was forced to operate, with eleven others assigned to that territory, in working on an underground railway from Lamar to Civil Bend. When this route was laid out upon the east side of the river, he returned to Illinois, and was married the 30th of December, 1852, at Sand Prairie, Cass county, Illinois, at the home of Perry Fuller, to Miss Ann Eliza Keethley, and returned west with his wife to Atchison county, Missouri, where they went to housekeeping in an abandoned house built by the fur traders on the bank of the Missouri, living there one year. He lived on the border in the work of the underground from 1852 to 1857, when he removed to the Sauk and Fox reservation at the old agency in what is now Greenwood township Franklin county, Kansas, living the first winter in one of the houses in the negro quarters where James and his predecessors kept their house slaves.

Mr. Logan was a freighter, and hauled lumber and provisions for the agency from Lawrence and Westport. Being a brother-in-law of Perry Fuller, he was employed in the removal from the old agency to the new agency quarters at Quenemo. He continued freighting and had steady employment. He has resided continuously in Quenemo ever since the time of the establishment of the agency. Here ten children were born to them, only four remaining: Albert Logan, Carleton Logan, Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Arnold. Mrs. Logan died some years ago. Mr. Logan makes his home with his son Albert W. Logan, in Quenemo, a very prosperous business man, who owns the old mill built for the Indians and afterward owned and operated by Edward Fuller, son of Perry Fuller. Of course this mill has been refitted and practically rebuilt until it is entirely modern, turning out some of the finest products in this state. Mr. Logan has been quite prominent in Osage county politics in the past. The mantle, however, has now fallen upon his son.

and Emma, who was subsequently renamed Elizabeth Dole, Joe, the son of the Fox chief Chick-o-skuk, and a handsome, commanding appearing little fellow we called Colonel Battice. I will never forget Longhorn, a brave, an old man with a grandson. As we started away with the little three-year-old boy, the grandfather placed a little red blanket on his arm and looking up into my face, said, "Make him big man. He go to Washington." Keokuk's son Charley was our interpreter."

During the absence of the Duvall's, John Goodell had sent his son John and foster children, Isaac, Fanny and Jane, to school at Baldwin. Some way this did not please Mrs. Goodell, and she sent Fanny to Leavenworth, in company with Virginia James, daughter of B. A. James, to the convent of the Sisters of Charity, and on their return home from school Bettie and Kate Martin and Fannie and Jane Goodell were much together, and were much in the saddle.

Agent Martin reported⁶⁷ the enrollment in 1863 as men, 287; women, 397; children, 309; total, 975; personal property, \$60 each.

"By the necessary encouragement all the fields and patches were planted to corn, beans and pumpkins, and they have raised plenty to supply their wants. They commence harvesting the crop as soon as it gets to be roasting ears, by putting the corn into water and heating it boiling hot, when they take it out and cut it from the cob and spread it on hides and blankets in the sun until thoroughly dried, when it is packed away in rawhide sacks, trunks, etc. When they are about to leave for their winter hunts they take what will supply their wants during the winter, and the balance of the corn they bury some three or four feet in the ground, where it remains until their return in the spring."

While the Sauks and Foxes were absent during the winter we allowed the refugee Indians to occupy all the vacant houses on the reserve.

"In order to preserve the mission houses from abuse, I procured a missionary to take possession of them and open a school for the Sauk and Fox children. All the chiefs of the tribe are taking a great interest in the school, except one (Mo-ko-ho-ko), who opposes every step in civilization, refuses to live in the house built for him, and pitched his wickypup right under the eaves of his house."

R. P. Duvall reported⁶⁸ that fifteen children had been clothed and subsisted by himself and wife at the mission, and had been taught orthography and mental arithmetic. In connection with this work he had cultivated 100 acres. In a recent letter Mrs. Duvall says of the school:

"We taught the girls to sew and do housework, but the boys were not so easily managed. We tried to teach them to do right in all things. It was our custom to take Charley home every Friday evening. On one occasion I had him behind me on my pony, and as we passed through the agency Charley said, in his simple, honest boy heart, 'Mrs. Duvall, these white men tell us not to mind what you missionaries say; that there is no Jesus Christ.' This was the tide the missionaries had to work against. We had many embarrassments, but pressed on."

The school and mission were under the auspices of the Methodist church, but it was precious little help they received, for it was a struggle to keep the then infant, Baker University, alive. There was preaching every Sunday at the mission by Mr. Duvall, with Sabbath school for all who would come; and the little melodeon, with the softening, refining influence, was in

NOTE 67.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1863, p. 255.

NOTE 68.—Ibid, 1863, p. 256.

evidence in telling of a better life. Bettie Martin taught a class of boys. In a recent letter she says:

"Mrs. Duvall took the children as they were brought to her in the blanket, and put boys' and girls' clothes on them. I never saw any children learn so fast as they did. Perhaps this change of apparel and the giving of English names was one reason why the great mass of Indians were opposed to the mission. They said that they did not want their children educated, as it would make rascals of them."

During the fall of 1863, under instructions from Congress, Commissioner Wm. P. Dole, with others, visited Kansas to confer with the Indians regarding their ultimate removal to the Indian Territory, and formulated a treaty⁶⁹ with the Sauks and Foxes, which, however, was never ratified. It appears to have been signed by the more liberal minded chiefs, though probably not satisfactory to them in every respect.

Shaw-paw-kaw-kah was stricken with the great white plague, and beginning to feel the sands of life slipping away, requested Mr. Martin to write his will, a copy of which was found by Mrs. Cunningham among her father's papers. She says of him: "He did not speak English, but it was interesting to hear him make a speech, his gestures were so perfect, and he was very dignified."

WILL OF SHAW-PAW-KAW-KAH.

"SAC & FOX AGENCY, KANSAS,
October 30, 1863.

"I, Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, chief, and a member of the Sac & Fox tribe of Indians, in the fear of the Great Spirit, and being in tolerable health, and of sound mind, do make and constitute this, my last will and testament; and I hereby appoint H. W. Martin, U. S. Indian agent, and John Goodell, U. S. interpreter, executors for me, and in my name to execute my will, which is as follows:

"*First.*—I give and bequeath to my nephew, Pah-tah-quaw, my farm of one hundred and sixty acres of land where I now live, the title to which I acquired under the treaty of 1863, also my two-horse wagon and harness, and one bay pony horse.

"*Second.*—I give to my daughters, Jane Goodell, Kaw-wap-pe or Elizabeth Dole, and my grandchild, Waw-kaw-chaw or Bettie Martin, my pair of horses, harness and spring wagon. I give Kaw-wap-pe or Elizabeth Dole one gray pony horse.

"*Third.*—I give to my son, Kaw-wah-chaw, one bay horse pony, two years old past.

"*Fourth.*—I give to my wife, Wau-pes-se-taw, my trunk and its contents, all my crockery, dishes, bedsteads, and bedding and blankets.

"*Fifth.*—I will that my executors sell my cook stove and box stove for the benefit of my two children and grandchild.

"*Sixth.*—It is my will that my wife, Wau-pes-se-taw, remain in possession of my house and farm while the Indians remain on this reserve, and that she is not to mourn as is the custom of our tribe, but want her dressed in the same style that she now is, except that the clothing is to be entirely new.

"*Seventh.*—I also desire that my nephew, Pah-tah-quaw, shall take my place in the nation and act in my stead, and be government chief in my place.

"Given under my hand this 30th day of October, A. D. 1863.

"Witness: W. WHISTLER. SHAW-PAW-KAW-KAH, × his mark."

In August, 1863, occurred the Quantrill raid on Lawrence, and the people of the agency and mission were frightened, wondering what might be their fate. We have often speculated upon what the Indians thought of this war

NOTE 69.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1863, pp. 29, 30.

among the whites. Probably they had the same opinion that the whites did of the Indians when they were on the warpath: "Let them kill each other off; they don't amount to anything very much anyhow."

SAUK AND FOX WEDDING AS TOLD BY GEO. W. LOGAN.

"One bright day in June, 1864, occurred a wedding betrothal. One of the most beautiful maidens of the tribe had two suitors, just as her white sisters often do. The tribe was getting ready to move camp, and down in the timber, in the flats near Quenemo, were packing their belongings and tepees, all busy making preparations. Already many of the young braves and maidens were mounted on their ponies, ready for the march.

"It was the custom among these people, if a maiden had two or more suitors, that if one of them could find the maiden alone, and but touch her hand, she was to be his. Consequently both these young braves were constantly on the watch, to get between the others and the girl, and to get her separated from her relatives. Finally, in the mixup, one of the braves succeeded in getting between her and her friends. The maiden saw it at a glance, and wheeling her pony started away. By this time the other brave saw what was going on, and started for the maiden too. This she also quickly saw, and giving her pony a dig cleared the timber out upon the prairie, quickly pursued by both suitors, each striving to get near enough to touch her wrist. But that was no easy matter. Possessed of a fleet pony she distanced the rivals, and when one came dangerously near, the pony dodged and the brave went on past. With shouts the tribe saw what was going on. Every one mounted and immediately gave chase, and as soon as the other ponies could be unpacked, the rest of the Indians followed by twos, threes, and droves, but all kept back from the three who were having the time of their lives, and watched the proceedings with shouts and laughter.

"The maiden, keenly alert, beautiful and radiant, enjoying her advantage, took delight in torturing these young braves, now letting one come dangerously near, only to dodge him. It was the same as chasing a dodging maverick. She could have been caught easily had a lasso been used, but lassos were not in the game. It was a quick-witted maiden, and a quick-witted and nimble pony, who enjoyed the fun as much as did his mistress. And the prize was to be won by the brave who touched her wrist first. Chasing, dodging and hard pressed by two determined lovers, and followed by several hundred shouting Indians, the entire cavalcade rushed across the prairie, swept over the hill, and on, out upon the broad and boundless prairies west.

"Along in the afternoon, when the ponies had become fatigued, out near where Lyndon stands, this arch maiden did what her white sister would have done—allowed the brave, the right one, whom she loved, to touch her wrist.

"When the sun was hanging over the big hill, the Indians returned, chatting about the race and laughing as they rode to camp. A half hour later the maiden and betrothed came riding leisurely along, side by side, he having her pony's bridle leading it, in token of her submission. They were both radiantly happy, and were talking as they rode. As twilight was beginning, down the hill rode the humbled, rejected, dejected suitor, all alone. The Indians set up their wickiups again, and stayed for a week longer, celebrating the wedding festivities with feast and song and dance."

There was a large mortality among the refugee Indians from exposure and insufficient and poor food, especially about the time of their coming. There is no means of knowing just how many died. At any rate the burial plot on the bottoms on Mr. Logan's farm contains at least two acres of dead Indians. One would not have to stretch his imagination very far to create a ghost dance in that locality on a stormy night. But from all we have heard the entire acreage has lain very still. A number of white families came from the South, with the refugee Indians. Among them was a Mrs.

West. Her children attended Bettie Martin's school. The second boy died, and his mother soon followed him. Her doctor, who had been sent for, said she died of a broken heart. She was buried at the mission, and a stone was placed at her grave. It is thought that she was a widow.

In the summer of 1863, during Commissioner Dole's visit at the mission, as a special request he asked that Shaw-paw-kaw-kah's daughter Emma be called after his own wife, Elizabeth Dole, and agent Martin asked that Shaw-paw-kaw-kah's little granddaughter be named for his daughter, Bettie Martin. Longhorn's grandson was named Robert Thrift, after Miss Jane Thrift's father. Miss Thrift had come out from Ohio as a missionary teacher among the Indians. She was distantly related to the Duvalls.

Mrs. Duvall also alludes to Mr. Dole:

"Visitors sent from Washington by the government said they were surprised to see our boys go to the blackboard and do examples, but we spent our time and best energies teaching, and in using our small means. I took my wardrobe to dress the girls. We were encouraged to go on, and promised in the end that all would be right."

Mr. Dole was entertained in various ways during his visit. The chiefs, head men and others called upon him at agent Martin's. Some fun-loving girls played a trick on him, aided and abetted by Bettie Martin. We will allow Mrs. Fanny Goodell-Nadeau to tell the story herself:

"My sister Sarah and a friend of ours, and the wild Indian girl, Mes-kooth, played a joke on our Indian commissioner from Washington, with the aid of our dear friend Bettie Martin. The three of us dressed in full Indian dress and called on the honorable Commissioner. We were met by Bettie and introduced, giving Indian names. We all sat around like Indians do. When Bettie asked us to play the piano, Mes-kooth could not understand. So sister Sarah urged me in Indian tongue to go on, and play. The music was not intended on my part when we dressed in Indian dress. I was very bashful, and thinking that they would never know differently went to the piano and played. But the next day, while at an Indian dance, although clad in my own clothing, I was recognized by the commissioner and the rest of the party. The joke was enjoyed and talked of by all, and the very same piano upon which I played, and which was afterwards owned by Professor Whitman, of Lyndon, was presented to me by Mr. Martin, our dear good agent of long ago."

The Sauk and Fox trust lands⁷⁰ were offered for sale late in 1864.⁷¹ Those in Franklin county, some 76,800 acres, seem never to have been publicly offered, but were early turned over to speculators privately, among these being Judge Usher, who reserved for himself a fine farm near Pomona, and J. H. Whetstone, who purchased 15,000 acres. A good many bids were made by persons then living in Kansas, but they were overbid by parties at Washington, or awarded lands that were inferior, for which they had made no bid whatever.

Hugh McCulloch, the comptroller of the currency, W. P. Dole, commissioner of Indian affairs, and John G. Nicolay, Lincoln's private secretary, were among the bidders on the lands in Osage county. Hugh McCulloch re-

NOTE 70.—"In order to secure to the said Indians the greatest practical advantage to be derived from the proceeds of these surplus lands, commissioners were appointed to appraise them for the information of the department, which would thus be made aware of their actual or approximate value, and enabled to act independently of any representations of interested speculators. Notwithstanding this preparation it has been deemed advisable to postpone sales for the time being, and await the advent of a period when better prices may be obtained."—Rept. Comm'r Indian Affairs, 1861, p. 13.

NOTE 71.—*Kan. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 8, p. 101.

served for himself a half section on the north side of Salt creek, and the south half of section 31, township 16, range 15, one of the finest pieces of land in Osage county. We know this is so, for we once owned that piece of land, and his name and his wife's name appear in the abstract. There was a family by the name of Dole that settled on the Marais des Cygnes near Melvern. We do not know if they are descendants or not of the commissioner, but the late Doctor Dole, of Lyndon, who was born there, was smart enough to have been his son. John G. Nicolay has several families of grandchildren and great-grandchildren in Osage county, all of them well educated. His son settled on a farm on the south side of the base line, the dividing line of the Sauk and Fox reservation on the north. The largest bidder was John McManus, of Reading, Pa., who sold the land awarded him to Slyfert, McManus & Co.,⁷² the largest purchase ever made in Kansas on individual account.

But these men bought their lands. We find no account of the Bob Stevens land purchase. Scattered all over in the Sauk and Fox trust lands, the finest of the upland sections; all along the divide between the Marias des Cygnes and Salt Creek, Osage county, the abstracts read, "U. S. Government to Robert S. Stevens." These lands were held longer than any other, and were not offered for sale until after all surrounding lands had been sold.

The lands about the old agency were being sold and occupied. The township of Greenwood had been organized and named after Alfred B. Greenwood, the commissioner who made the treaty of 1859-'60. The first district school at Greenwood, the old agency, was taught the winter of 1868-'69 by no less a personage than F. D. Coburn, the present secretary of the State Board of Agriculture.

Shaw-paw-kaw-kah had been declining fast since the trip to Washington. His picture shows that even then death had marked its victim. Besides, he was despondent over the prospects for the future of his people, and felt remorse for having signed the treaty of 1863, although it had not yet been ratified. His son had learned the bad white man's ways, and could not be trusted to take his place in the nation, and he had felt obliged to name his nephew, Pah-tah-quaw, in his stead in his will. He himself had entirely stopped drinking, as had Keokuk and very many of the Indians, through the good influence of agent Martin and Mr. Duvall. For some time the family of Shaw-paw-kaw-kah had been aware of his melancholy, but we will let Mrs. Bettie Martin Cunningham tell the story:

"Shaw-paw-kaw-kah had consumption. They say when Indians know they cannot get well they will destroy themselves rather than live and suffer. One morning he had his son get the team and wagon and go to town for groceries, telling him what to get and to come right back. After his son had gone he told his wife and children to go out and shut the door, as he wanted to rest. Lizzie Dole was the last one getting out. He told her to get his knife and revolver, he wanted to see if it wanted cleaning; he would

NOTE 72.—McManus, Slyfert & Co. sold to John M. Wetherell, a wealthy Quaker of Philadelphia, Pa., a part of their purchase, embracing what is now Arvonias, Barclay, Grant and Superior townships, Osage county. On writing his wife what he had done, it is said she immediately replied, "John, come home. Thou art going crazy." However, Mr. Wetherell sold Superior and Grant townships to T. J. Peter, and brought out from Philadelphia a large colony of Quakers, settling Barclay township, and selling to good staid Welsh families the Arvonias lands. Mr. Wetherell died at Barclay in the early '70's. The family then returned to their Philadelphia home, the son, George Wetherell, coming out every year to attend to business. The last of the mortgages due the Wetherells were paid not long ago, and the Wetherell interest in the Osage County Bank was only transferred within the present year to Wesley Womer, the new president.

give it to his son when he came back. They had been keeping these away from him. Childlike she obeyed, but never thought to tell her mother.

"After a while, as the wife did not hear him call, she said she was going in. When she opened the door the room was full of smoke. He had put the revolver to his breast and fired. The flash of the powder had set fire to his shirt and the bed. He had shot himself through the heart. Although his wife put out the fire she could not restore the dead chief to life again, and her grief was intense.

"Shaw-paw-kaw-kah had told my father that he wanted to be buried as were the whites, and he did not want the Indians to have a thing to do with it. Accordingly he was laid out in new clothes and placed in his coffin. The funeral was set for the mission the next morning. But that night the Indians went in and painted him up and had a regular pow-wow over him. Only the men and my father saw him. The family would not allow the coffin opened at the mission. Mr. Duvall preached the sermon, and he was buried in the mission cemetery with the Methodist burial service."

Soon after her father's death Elizabeth Dole was badly burned; her clothing caught on fire at the mission. Her mother took her home and nursed her as tenderly as any white mother could possibly have done. Her sores developed scrofula, and she wasted away like one in consumption. It was then that Jane Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, her aunt, went back to her blanket.

One day the Goodell family were astonished to see Jane descend from her chambers clad in skirt and waist, moccasins and blanket; not one article of civilization upon her. She had discarded her clothing and donned the blanket. She, upon whom so much care, teaching and expense had been bestowed! She, the pride and joy of her father, who had placed her under Mrs. Goodell's care, and surrounded her with the best of refining influences possible! She, who had been a diligent student at Baldwin! In a few short, laconic words she announced to her astonished friends, "I am going to my people. I am tired of the whole white race. When anyone comes to town, they want to see Jane 'Shop' and hear her play. I am tired of being made a show of, and I am going to my people." She gave Fanny Goodell all her clothing and white woman's jewelry, and to Kate Martin her Bible and music instructor, and wrapping her blanket about her went to her mother's wigwam.

This incident created a commotion, and has been told and retold as an illustration of the utter uselessness of attempting to educate the Indian. But let us see. Jane Shaw-paw-kaw-kah was human, and had deep affection for her own people. She would not have been the daughter of her noble father that she was had she not returned to her mother during the trying hours of her life, and after the death of her sister and subsequent death of her niece, Bettie Martin (who died suddenly at the mission with a convulsion), have been her mother's constant companion and solace. She need not have gone back to the blanket to have done this, but she did. We do not know the operation of her mind that caused her to decide thus, but from all the misfortunes of the Indians, the sad ending of her father, sister and niece, the humiliation of her brother not being qualified to inherit her father's place, and the reputed disappointment of her own life, we can see reasons enough for such logical conclusions, and in our opinion she did just right.

Agent Martin, in September, 1864,⁷³ reports:

"The Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi are all what is termed blanket Indians, having all the prejudices of that class of Indians against work. . . . They were slow to put in their crops in the spring, believing that the treaty made in September last would be ratified 'as made,' and that they would

NOTE 73.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1864, p. 358.

spend most of the year looking out for a new home south of Kansas. . . . From a careful enrollment made the 29th of April last we have the following results, viz.: Men, 255; women, 317; children, 319; total, 891, . . . showing a decrease during the last year of 84, and this, too, when the tribe has been unusually healthy. I can account for a portion of this large decrease as follows: A number of Missouri Sacs and Foxes were in the habit of coming down here spring and fall, enrolling, getting pay, and returning home; these I cut off. A number are visiting the Iowa Sacs and Foxes, and may not return for a year or two. The personal property of the tribe amounts to \$57,996. The three bands living nearest the agency raised all the corn, cattle and hogs. The wealth of the upper or wild band [Mo-ko-ho-ko's] is confined to horses alone.

"The mission school, under the supervision of Rev. R. P. Duvall and lady, commenced in April, 1863, under very unfavorable and discouraging circumstances, there being no school funds or provision for supporting a school, is still in full operation, and is progressing to the entire satisfaction of the Indians (wild band excepted). The progress made by the children in learning surpasses all our expectations.

"I am truly gratified to be able to state that all the chiefs and council, twelve in number, are in favor of sustaining the school, while a large majority of them feel a deep interest in it. Fourteen boys and eleven girls are in attendance. The number of children could be increased to forty or fifty, provided we had the means to support them. There has been an average attendance of eighteen. Miss Jane E. Thrift, of Ohio, has taught during the last five months. Thirteen have gone through Willson's Family and School Primer, and will finish Willson's Primary Speller the present quarter. They read the Testament fluently, and the object system of teaching is used.

"In conclusion, I will add that the Sacs and Foxes are all well clothed, peaceable and quiet; and since the refugee Indians left last spring, I have not seen a half dozen drunken Indians in the nation; and during the payment just closed, not one."

In October, 1864, the rebel general, Sterling Price, threatened to invade Kansas. In view of his approach the loyal Indians in the state met in council at the Sauk and Fox agency to reaffirm their allegiance to the government at Washington.⁷⁴ Some such step had long been advised to offset the applications made by Confederate officers to enlist the sympathies of the northern Indians in the rebellion.

We have seen that the treaty of 1859 provided for the sale of the Sauk

NOTE 74.—

"SAC AND FOX AGENCY, KANSAS, October 8, 1864.

"Know all men, that we, the chiefs and councillors, head men and braves of the tribes and nations now assembled in grand council to confer together, to consider our relations to the government of the United States, in the present distracted condition of the country, owing to the wicked and unholy rebellion and bloody war now being waged by vicious men against the general government, and under which we have all lived and prospered so long, it is with pain and regret that we learn that a portion of our red brethern, under the influence of wicked and bad men, have joined with the rebels and are making efforts to induce all loyal red men to join them in their unjust war against the government, by sending emissaries and agents to both red and white men among us, calling on us to meet them in grand council down in the Creek country the last of October, with the avowed purpose of enlisting all the red men of Kansas and the border in this wicked war against our Great Father the President of the United States. That we, the delegates from all the tribes in Kansas, in grand council assembled, declare that we have been faithful to all our treaty stipulations, and truly loyal to the government of the United States; and we solemnly pledge ourselves, our tribes and nations, to our Great Father the President, that we will remain true to him as good, obedient and loyal children. We consider his enemies our enemies, and his friends our friends; and, although weak and feeble within ourselves, we pledge him our aid and assistance in putting down and crushing out all of his enemies, until every rebel in the land shall acknowledge the power of our Great Father; and we most solemnly and earnestly recommend to our red brethern everywhere to stand by our Great Father in this his hour of trouble, and to those who have taken sides with the rebels through wicked counsel of bad men we earnestly invite them to return to their allegiance to the only government to which we can look for protection in the future; and we earnestly recommend to our young men and braves, wherever they may be, to urge upon our red brethern to remain true friends of our Great Father; and that when out on the hunt on the great plains, if they should find wicked counsellors as emissaries from the rebels, urging our brethern to join in this wicked war, to arrest them or give notice to the nearest military authority of their presence, and when distant from such post to destroy them, that their wicked counsel may not poison the minds of our peo-

and Fox trust lands to white settlers, the proceeds to be applied in paying the debts of the Indians, and in improving their homes. Apparently the trust lands had been practically sold by 1865, when the following letter was written:⁷⁵

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 25, 1865.

Hon. William P. Dole, Commissioner, Indian Affairs:

"SIR—Understanding that the proceeds of the lands of the Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi already advertised and sold are insufficient to pay the existing and outstanding debts of said Indians under the provisions of the treaty of July 9, 1860, we would therefore recommend, in order to settle these debts and avoid the accumulation of interest thereon, the selling of a sufficient quantity of their lands (in addition to those already sold) to pay all claimants against said tribe now due.

Respectfully yours,

S. C. POMEROY, *U. S. Senator.*

J. H. LANE, *U. S. Senator.*

A. C. WILDER, *M. C.*

SIDNEY CLARKE, *M. C. elect."*

This letter was referred by Mr. Dole to Judge Usher, with the recommendation that the lands in the diminished reserve remaining after the individual allotments should be sold, as provided by article 4 of the aforementioned treaty, which gave the Secretary of the Interior the power to

ple. And we would respectfully ask of our Great Father a faithful fulfillment of all our treaty stipulations, and that protection for ourselves, families and homes due to your loyal and confiding children.

"Done in grand council at the council ground near the Sac and Fox Agency, Kansas, October 8, 1864.

Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi.

KEO-KUK,	his X mark.
CHE-KUS-KUCK,	his X mark.
PUH-TICK-QUAW,	his X mark.
QUAM-QUE-ESS,	his X mark.
WAN-POL-LAW,	his X mark.
MAN-AN-TO-AH,	his X mark.
QUACK-CUP-PIT,	his X mark.
I-AH-TUP-PIT,	his X mark.
QUAH-QUAH-LUP-PE-QUAH,	his X mark.
KE-KE-TAW-KAH,	his X mark.
MAH-SHE-WAE-LUCK-BAS-RULE,	his X mark.
QUE-WE-MO,	his X mark.
KEP-PAH-CHE,	his X mark.
BLACK HAWK,	his X mark.
POM-ME-KEN-E-POT,	his X mark.
QUAH,	his X mark.
QUAN-KO-HO-SE,	his X mark.
YOH-PAH-LET,	his X mark.
SHALL-LOPE,	his X mark.
PAU-ME-SE,	his X mark.
BATTEAU,	his X mark.
LITTLE ISLAND,	his X mark.
QUAU-SHE-MA,	his X mark.
PEN-ME-KEAH-TAH,	his X mark.
KE-ME-TO-E,	his X mark.
WAH-SE-NAH-SAH,	his X mark.
WAU-PE-KISH-KO,	his X mark.
KAH-KAH-QUAN,	his X mark.
PAH-PES-KO-SIT,	his X mark.
MOT-TAL-LAH-SAT-TAH,	his X mark.
TAH-HE-SKICK,	his X mark.

"Witness:

W. G. COFFIN, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

W. H. MARTIN, Agent Sacs and Foxes.

W. A. HARLAN, Special Agent Cherokee Indians.

P. P. ELDER, Agent Osages.

G. C. SNOW, Agent Seminoles.

JOHN GOODELL, Interpreter Sacs and Foxes.

This treaty was also signed by representatives of the Chickasaw, Osage, Pottawatomie, Shawnee and Seneca, Quapaw, Seminole, Creek, Kaskaskia, Peoria, Wea and Pinakeshaws, and Western Miami nations, and witnessed by their interpreters.—Rept. Comm'r of Ind. Aff., 1864, p. 362.

NOTE 75.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1865, p. 382.

make such order. According to the report of Wolcott and Barnett, commissioners to set off the eighty acres to individuals, there was a surplus of 140 sections of land remaining, and which could be opened to settlers. This recommendation was approved by Judge Usher, February 27, 1865.⁷⁶

From Mrs. Duvall we quote:

"Many things occurred while we were at the Sauk and Fox mission to ever mark the place in our memory. One day we noticed the flag at the agency at half mast. My husband mounted Charley and Joe and told them to go quickly to the agency. They returned with the sad news that our Great Father, Abraham Lincoln, was dead."



CHARLES KEOKUK,
Grandson of Keokuk.

The summer vacation of the mission Mrs. Duvall spent in her Ohio home at Delaware. Miss Jane Thrift⁷⁷ returned there with her to remain. She also took Charley Keokuk. Of Charley Mrs. Duvall writes:

"We were here three months. He furnished amusement for the boys. He would sit on the gate post and the boys would crowd around him. On one occasion he was missing, and I was very much frightened, for I knew how much his father thought of him. The soldiers were returning from the war and were on parade. I pushed my way through the crowd, and close up to the music I found Charley, perfectly lost to himself. At another time he was gone, and I found him on the engine of a train that was standing, and I was glad when I found him. Keokuk sent a carriage to Lawrence, Kan., to meet us. After Charley had made his visit home and had returned to school, he came in with a pair of beautiful moccasins. I said, 'Charley, why do you give these to me?' He replied, 'My mother sent them to you because you sent me home looking so

nice.' Let me say here, the Indian has gratitude in his heart if the white man would treat him white."

As to the white man overreaching the Indian, Mrs. Duvall says:

"I have seen the Indians pay \$18 for a great coarse blanket at the trading house. They were not blind, but how could they help themselves."

Bettie Martin Cunningham⁷⁸ writes:

"After my father came he would not allow the traders to overcharge the Indians, and would not allow any dishonest traders if he could help it.

NOTE 76.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1865, p. 383.

NOTE 77.—Miss Thrift married Rev. A. C. Barnes, a prominent Methodist minister of Ohio for many years. She taught two years at the mission—1864-'65.

NOTE 78.—Bettie Martin was married July 13, 1865, to Prof. B. R. Cunningham, at Baldwin, Kan., by Rev. R. P. Duvall, in the agent's house, now known as the "wigwam." Quenemo, and went to Leavenworth to live. Professor Cunningham was apparently the first teacher employed in Baker University, November, 1858. The following year he held the chair of mathematics, and resigned in September, 1861. He died September 24, 1891. His sons John and George reside in Abilene, Tex., where Mrs. Cunningham hopes soon to make her home.

They used to charge a dollar for a box of gun caps, and 40 cents a yard for calico. They cheated them out of their eyes. I remember I heard Perry Fuller say once that he did not deny he had stolen from them, but he did not want those that had stolen as much as he to say anything about it."

This explains why the Indians were continually in debt. They had unlimited credit at the trading house, and were forced to pay whatever was asked. When the annuity was due the traders brought in their bills, which the agent paid. If there was anything left for poor "Lo," he got it; if not, he got more credit. And so the debt accumulated into the thousands of dollars every year. Pressure was then brought to bear upon the chiefs and head men that these debts must be paid, and so perforce there was no other way to do than to sell some of their lands to meet their obligations. Surely there are a whole lot of white men who have "crookety poles."

The refugee Indians returned to their homes in the Territory early in 1864. It was thought just to compensate the Sauks and Foxes for the use of their lands and houses. The following treaty was not mentioned in the commissioner's reports, nor included in the outline of treaties⁷⁹ received from Washington through the favor of Senator Charles Curtis, but was forwarded to me by Mrs. Cunningham in the original copy from among the official papers of her father, H. W. Martin. The handwriting is that of Wm. Whistler:

TREATY BETWEEN THE SAC AND FOX INDIANS AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT RELATIVE TO THE REFUGEE INDIANS [April 17, 1865].

"At a council of the undersigned chiefs and head men of the Sac and Fox Indians of the Mississippi, held on their reservation in Kansas on the 17th day of April, A. D. 1865, it having been known to us that William G. Coffin, superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern superintendency, has been directed by the commissioner of Indian affairs, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, to pay to our agent, for the use of our people, and by him to be paid to our people, after the manner of annuity payments, the sum of \$14,688, as a compensation for the use and occupation of their reservation from the 15th day of November, 1862, until the 14th day of May, 1864, by the Refugee Indians of the southern superintendency, on condition that our people accept the same in full satisfaction of all claims against said refugees of the government of the United States, growing out of said occupation, and for all damages done to their houses, timber, fences and other property,

Now, therefore, be it known, that we, the undersigned chiefs and head men of the Sac and Fox tribe of Indians of the Mississippi, acting for and on behalf of said Indians, have agreed and do hereby agree to accept and receive the said sum of money upon the terms and conditions aforesaid, and we hereby, for and on behalf of said Indians, do relinquish and forever surrender any and all demands of every nature and description whatever against the Refugee Indians aforesaid or the government of the United States, arising or growing out of the use and occupation of our said reservation during the period aforesaid.

NOTE 79.—"It is generally understood that the treaty of April 17, 1865, has been complied with to the satisfaction of the government. The names [attached to it] are all spelled correctly excepting Quah-quah-lup-pe-quah. It should be Quah-quah-nah-pe-quah."—W. BATTICE.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals this the day and year first herein written.

KE-O-KUK,	his X mark.	Seal.
CHI-KO-SKUK,	his X mark.	Seal.
PAH-TECK-QUAW, ⁸⁰	his X mark.	Seal.
QUAW-QUE-ES,	his X mark.	Seal.
WAW-POL-LAW,	his X mark.	Seal.
MAN-E-TO-WAH,	his X mark.	Seal.
QUAH-CUP-PIT,	his X mark.	Seal.
QUAH-TUP-PIT,	his X mark.	Seal.
QUAH-QUAH-LUP-[NAH]-PE-QUAH,	his X mark.	Seal.
KE-KE-TAW-KAH,	his X mark.	Seal.
QUE-NE-MO,	his X mark.	Seal.
MAH-SHE-WAL-LUCK-US-KUK,	his X mark.	Seal.

"Attest:—WILLIAM WHISTLER,
E. C. STEVENS,
JOHN GOODELL, *U. S. Interpreter.*"

[Indorsement on back of manuscript.]

"I certify on honor that the within relinquishment was fully explained to the chiefs and council of the Sac and Fox tribe of Indians, and signed in my presence this 17th day of April, 1865.

H. W. MARTIN, *U. S. Indian Agent.*"

The census of the tribe in 1865 showed a decrease of eighty-five individuals during the past year, though the health of the nation had been unusually good. Their personal property had increased to \$71,910. Out of twenty-five children enrolled in the mission school, an average of sixteen attended. No provision has been secured for the support of the school other than a small amount from the civilization fund of the Indian office and \$400 appropriated by the Indians from their annuities, a great concession on their part. This, together with the proceeds of the farm, was not sufficient to feed the children. Mr. Duvall remarks, in his report to Mr. Martin: "These children bid fair for domestic happiness, and, if properly cared for, will make good citizens. Our greatest drawback, as heretofore, is short rations. The child's annuity is spent in clothing it, which prevents others from sending their children." Agent Martin reports that he has tried to keep the school in operation until a treaty could be made to provide for the support of a school, but the Duvall's had exerted themselves to the utmost in behalf of the children, and had decided, if relief did not come in the interval, to ask the next session of Conference for another field of labor.⁸¹

The Duvalls withdrew at this time and took an appointment in regular ministerial work in the Conference at Centropolis. Rev. J. W. Rogers⁸² and wife took their places as missionary and matron of the Indian mission, with Mattie Arbothnot, from Nebraska, as the teacher. After the school under the new management had been running for three months, Mr. and Mrs. Duvall paid the mission a visit:

"The school was carried on after we left, and we returned after having been away for three months. The children saw me coming from the school-room. They fled to me, and the teacher was left alone. As I left the steps on going away, I saw one of our little girls crying. I went to her and she said, 'Oh, Mrs. Duvall, we are so lonesome when you are gone away.'

NOTE 80.—Shaw-paw-kaw-kah's successor.

NOTE 81.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1865, pp. 379, 382.

NOTE 82.—Ibid., 1866, p. 267.

We drove off, supposing we had left all behind, but chanced to look under our buggy seat, and there was our little Colonel Battice. And so our hearts were endeared to these people, and we were convinced that they would love to serve the same God that we do if they had an opportunity."

This was the last of this devoted couple at the mission. They builded better than they knew, and the good seed they sowed has yielded to the Sauk and Fox Indians of the Mississippi a hundred fold.

The majority of the Indians wished to retain their honest agent. The set of schemers who desired to get rid of the Indians or to profit by their trade knew another agent must be had first. Again the old dispute arose as to precedence between the Keokuk and Mo-ko-ho-ko factions, instigated by those anxious for Mr. Martin's removal. Commissioner D. N. Cooley at Washington and Superintendent Thomas Murphy upheld Major Martin, who insisted "that the charges against him would be found to have originated with parties who are resolved that the tribe shall not be civilized, but left in a condition in which they can be easily plundered."⁸³

Mo-ko-ho-ko made charges against the agent and took them to Washington in the spring of 1866, and hired an attorney, Colonel Chipman, of that city, to press them with the Indian department. W. R. Irwin, special agent, was sent on to Kansas to investigate. He called a council of all the Sauks and Foxes at their council house on October 6, 1866, and examined many witnesses on both sides. George Powers,⁸⁴ of Centropolis, and H. P. Welsh, of Ottawa, appeared for the dissatisfied Indians. The following extract is made from Mr. Irwin's report,⁸⁵ which exonerates Major Martin :

"At twelve o'clock the next day [7th] the Indians again assembled, and when I was about to proceed with the investigation I was informed by attorney Welsh and Mr. Powers that the Indians desired to hold a council; that they thought they could settle their difficulties among themselves. To this I consented, and after several hours' delay they came into the council room. The chiefs made speeches, and a paper setting forth the basis of their agreement was drawn up, interpreted to the chiefs and councillors, and signed by them."

COPY OF AGREEMENT.⁸⁶

"At a general council of the Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi, held on the 7th day of October, 1866, it was agreed that Mo-ko-ho-ko shall hereafter be considered by the Sac and Fox Indians as a chief by blood, and exercise power accordingly; that all other relations and affairs within the tribe shall remain as heretofore. Keokuk and Che-ko-skuk to remain and be recognized as government chiefs; that Mo-ko-ho-ko and all others of the tribe withdraw any and all charges that they have made against Maj. H. W. Martin, the agent of the tribe, and have no further cause of complaint against him; that they are fully satisfied by this arrangement, and will hereafter live in peace and on friendly relations. And it is agreed that the expenses which have been incurred by Mo-ko-ho-ko and his band in the prosecution of their complaints shall be paid from the annuities of the tribe, including attorney's fees, not to exceed \$500, to Colonel Chipman, of Washington, D. C., and \$100 to H. P. Welsh, of Ottawa, Kansas.

KEOKUK,	his X mark.
CHE-KO-SKUCK,	his X mark.
MO-KO-HO-KO,	his X mark.
PAH-TECK-QUAW,	his X mark.

NOTE 83.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1866, p. 52.

NOTE 84.—George Powers, a descendant of old Pontiac, succeeded John Goodell, who died at Quenemo, as interpreter.—C. R. Green, June 23, 1910.

NOTE 85.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1866, p. 269; pp. 52, 246.

NOTE 86.—Ibid, 1866, p. 270.

Major Martin had also visited Washington in the spring, and his protest⁸⁷ against paying annuities to Maw-me-wa-ne-kah's band, which had seceded after the treaty of 1859 and returned to Iowa, appears in the Indian Office report for 1866. Major Martin's annual report⁸⁸ contains the usual information. The united tribes in Kansas numbered 766; total value of their property, \$69,700; their crops had given the average return. The mission school had met with gratifying success, and had been liberally assisted by the department; "but the chief encouragement in regard to its future prosperity arises from the growing interest of the Indians themselves. . . . I will conclude by saying that the Sacs and Foxes are beginning to see clearly that it will be impossible to maintain their present reservation very long against the influx of emigration and demands of the country, and are desirous of moving to the lands newly acquired by the government from the Indians south, and to this end are desirous of concluding a treaty for the disposal of their present reservation."⁸⁹

Agency Under Dr. Albert Wiley,⁹⁰ 1867-'69.

The appointment of Doctor Wiley, probably a concession to the Mo-koh-ko band, does not appear to have healed the breach, for the chief did not sign the treaty which was at last formulated to the satisfaction of the majority of the Sauks and Foxes, February 18, 1867, and ratified after amendment, July 25, 1868. The expected removal and the usual delays in the selection of lands, etc., kept the nation in a state of unrest; the plains Indians, too, then at war with the government, interfered with the buffalo hunting, depriving the Indians entirely of that means of subsistence, and eliciting an appeal to the government from their agent to supply the needed meat.

The school continued under Mr. Rogers until his resignation, in April, 1868, when Miss Ellen Lavery (the late Mrs. Neiheizer, of Melvern) succeeded him. The next year Miss Henrietta Woodmas took charge of the school and taught with great success, accompanying the pupils to the Territory in 1870. Mr. and Mrs. John Craig were employed as superintendent and matron of the mission home and farm the last year in Kansas. By August, 1869, the nation had decreased to 654 individuals—220 men, 237 women, and 197 children—while their farming operations were valued at \$23,535 only. Agent Wiley accompanied a delegation to the Indian Territory in 1869, to select their new home, with the result that the western portion of the Creek reserve was chosen. He certainly did well in this selection, and was a very good agent. Dr. E. B. Fenn was physician at the new agency from 1866 to 1869, and again in the '70's. His son George and daughter Estella were teachers after the removal to the Territory and did remarkably good work, progressing in methods of instruction with the general educational advancement.

The treaty of 1867,⁹¹ besides providing a reservation of 750 square miles for the tribe in the Indian Territory, ceded the diminished reserve in Osage county, the government agreeing to pay therefor the sum of one dollar an

NOTE 87.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1866, pp. 52, 271.

NOTE 88.—Ibid, 1866, p. 266.

NOTE 89.—Ibid, 1866, p. 268.

NOTE 90.—Ibid, 1867, pp. 17, 293, 299; 1868, pp. 256, 265; 1869, pp. 32, 358, 362.

NOTE 91.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 951.

acre, being 157,000 acres, less the land set aside for individuals; also to pay the outstanding debts of the tribe, amounting to \$26,574, and interest; and to pay for stock lost by the tribe, \$16,400. Besides the usual agency buildings, a manual-labor school was to be erected and supported, and the Saks and Foxes of the Missouri were invited to share the new reserve.

The treaty also provided that a strip of land two and a quarter by four miles in extent, comprising the site of the agency and the agency farms, together with the farms of Keokuk and other chiefs, should be sold by the chiefs and agent at the best price obtainable, and empowering these officers to make warranty deeds for the same, at not less than two dollars an acre in addition to the value of the improvements.

The treaty of 1859 had provided for the allotment of lands to half-breeds and to Indian women who had married white men. These lands had been duly selected and allotted⁹² by the agents, Perry Fuller and Clinton C. Hutchinson. A provision for patenting the same was made in article 17 of the new treaty.

In addition to the above allotments on the tribal lands in Kansas, others were made by the new treaty to the following people: John Goodell was to be given 320 acres in consideration of certain improvements upon the lands of the nation made by him, and for his services as interpreter. Sarah A. Whistler and Amelia Mitchel were to have one-half section each; Julia A. Goodell, 240 acres; Mary A. Means, Antoine Gokey (a Chippewa) and William Avery, each 160 acres; Leo Whistler and Gertrude Whistler, children of William Whistler and Sarah A. Goodell, each 320 acres; James Thorpe, Virginia Thorpe Cassandra Thorpe, Thomas J. Miles, Hattie Miles, Emma Keokuk, Hannie Keokuk, Mo-co-p-quah, each 80 acres; Man-a-tah, Pah-me-che-kaw-paw, Henry Jones, Wilson McKinney, and Carrie C. Capper, 160 acres each, the parties named to pay the sum of one dollar per acre. George Powers, the present government interpreter, for services rendered should have patented to him in fee simple 320 acres. Samuel Black, in consideration of his services as United States marshal, in protecting their houses and timber from trespass and depredation, was to have the land upon which he lived patented to him. John K. Rankin, trader, was to be allowed to purchase not more than eight acres at \$2.50 per acre, including his buildings.

This last treaty of the Sauks and Foxes in Kansas was signed by the following persons:

Lewis V. Bogy (Seal), Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
 W. H. Watson (Seal), Special Commissioner.
 Thomas Murphy (Seal), Superintendent of Indian Affairs.
 Henry W. Martin (Seal), United States Indian Agent.
 Keokuk, his X mark (Seal).
 Chick-o-skuk, his X mark (Seal).
 Uc-quaw-ho-ko, his X mark (Seal).
 Mut-tut-tah, his X mark (Seal).
 Man-ah-to-wah, his X mark (Seal).

NOTE 92.—Hon. F. D. Coburn relates the following circumstances growing out of this allotment: In 1869, he then being ambitious to become a landowner in Franklin county, found by an examination of the plats in the United States land office that the east half of the east half of section 35, township 16, range 17 east, had been originally allotted to Cordelia Connolly, a name given, for allotment purposes, to an unborn child; that when born the child was dead. As this land had not been filed upon, and had in some way also escaped the attention of the original land speculators, he filed upon and made application for it. After some delay he received from the land office the information that the Secretary of the Interior had ruled that the land reverted to the mother of the child as its heir, she then living in the Indian Territory.

Uc-quaw-ho-ko was elected successor of Pah-teck-quah in the succession of Shaw-paw-kaw-kah.

This treaty was not proclaimed until October 14, 1868. In the *Burlingame Chronicle* of November 18, 1868, M. M. Murdock, editor, we find the following:

"The Indian treaty, whereby the Sac and Fox lands of Osage county were ceded to the government, has been proclaimed by President Andrew Johnson as taking effect. What the treaty is we do not know, except that our congressman [Sidney Clarke] says that it went to settlers in lots of 160 acres, at not less than \$1.50 per acre."

Mr. Murdock evidently thinks that there might be something crooked, for he adds:

"We hope everything is right, but there have been so many swindles perpetrated in Washington with reference to Indian land that we are almost afraid to credit anything until we see the treaty itself. If everything is straight, within another year Osage county will be among the wealthy and prosperous counties of Kansas."

Shortly before this treaty was proclaimed the chiefs were called into council, and a deed conveying the agency site was placed before them for their signatures. Through misrepresentation and persuasion and when they were drunken their signatures were obtained to the instrument. When Keokuk awakened from his stupor some one was on the way to Washington to have those deeds recorded.⁹³ Keokuk was furious, and there was something doing. He charged fraud and deceit, and began to talk of going to Washington himself to see the Great Father. Agent Wiley⁹⁴ reported this to Washington. In reply, an order from Chas. E. Mix, dated October 16, 1868, was received by the agent and read to Keokuk and the other chiefs. The following is a copy of this order:

"Thomas Murphy, Indian Superintendent for Kansas:

"SIR—I have to advise you that, as Congress failed to make certain appropriations from which the expenses of delegations of Indians visiting this city have heretofore been paid, no delegation from any of the tribes in your superintendency will be allowed to visit this place during the present fiscal year, unless especially directed to do so by this office, for the reason that there are no funds at the disposal of the department that can be used to defray their necessary expenses.

"You will inform the different agents under you of the foregoing, and take such other steps to prevent any Indians coming here, as may be necessary to accomplish the object.

CHARLES E. MIX,

Acting U. S. Comm'r of Indian Affairs.

This was followed by an order from Thomas Murphy for Wiley to take any step necessary to prevent any of the Indians from visiting Washington. This paper was duly read to the chiefs and other Indians. But this did not swerve Keokuk from his purpose, nor deter him long. He replied that he had money enough of his own to defray this expense. In vain Agent Wiley forbade him to leave the reservation, for on the morning of November 22 Keokuk, with five others, left the Sauk and Fox agency for Lawrence, Kan. On the following day Wiley, who followed, made an affidavit for the arrest of Keokuk and the other chiefs in Lawrence. A warrant was secured and placed in the hands of Thomas Dorwin, deputy United States marshal, who

NOTE 93.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 8, p. 101, note.

NOTE 94.—Kansas Supreme Court Repts., vol. 6, pp. 94-112.

arrested the Indians. The case was brought before United States Commissioner W. P. Montgomery, and one of the jury, Walter Willis, was challenged by Keokuk for cause. The plaintiff, Albert Wiley, employed Riggs, Nevison & Foote. The case was set for the next term of the United States district court. Keokuk would not pay bail, a *mittimus* was issued and the party remanded to jail, where they remained for two days and one night, until liberated by a writ of habeas corpus. However, this did not stop the Indians from going to Washington.

"WASHINGTON, DEC. 12.—To-day a delegation of the Sac and Fox Indians of the Mississippi, in charge of Keokuk, their head chief, accompanied the Hon. Sidney Clarke of Kansas, to see the President and make known their grievances. The Indians were attired in their highest style. Wancocommo wore a coat loaded with ten or twelve pounds of beads and wampum, and fringed with buckskin strings a foot long. Two of the chiefs wore necklaces of nails of grizzly bear's claws, strung on an otter skin. These nails are about five inches in length, and the necklaces cost hundreds of dollars each. The President kindly received the painted warriors, and assured them his protection. They have come to Washington without the sanction of the Indian Office, to effect, if possible, the removal of swindling officers on their reserve. Notice has hitherto appeared of their arrest and imprisonment by their agent, and of their suing Commissioner Mix for false imprisonment. Their arrest, though sanctioned by the Interior Department, the President disapproves. The following is the paper which they submitted to Mr. Johnson:

"To his Excellency the President:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 12, 1868.

"The undersigned, chiefs from the Sac and Fox tribes of the Mississippi, respectfully represent to your excellency that their agent, Albert Wiley, having been guilty of misconduct in office, should be removed for the following reasons:

"1. For giving the exclusive right to trade with their tribe to one William Whistler, who charged them exorbitant prices for the necessaries of life, amounting to twice or three times as much as the same articles cost outside the reservation.

"2. That besides refusing any person license to trade with the tribe, the agent removes, or threatens to remove, the chiefs, for not advising their people to trade with this licensed monopoly, and that the agent represents to their people that the government wishes them to pay such exorbitant prices.

"3. That when they desired to come to Washington to obtain redress for their grievances, the agent declared that he would deprive Keokuk of his position, which he has held for over twenty years, and would arrest the whole party.

"4. That agent Wiley followed them to Lawrence, Kan., and procured their arrest and imprisonment, not for any crime, but because they desired to represent their wrongs to the department.

"5. For misrepresenting to us that our last treaty was ratified [proclaimed?], and requesting and influencing us to sign a deed for a strip of land two and a quarter miles wide and four miles long, during the absence of the United States interpreter, thereby taking us unprepared, and forcing us to convey valuable property to the detriment of the tribes.

"For these gross outrages of the agent, and for his collusion with the trader, we, the chiefs of the Sac and Fox tribes of the Mississippi, respectfully ask you to remove both agent Albert Wiley and the trader William Whistler, and appoint an agent with instructions to license at least two traders for the tribe. We come to your excellency claiming protection against the rapacity of those who desire to swindle us out of the little we have. We have full faith that the government desires to do us justice, and we beg you will grant our prayer and see justice done us.

(Signed)

"KEOKUK, his X mark.

"WAN-COM-MO, his X mark.

"MAN-A-TO-WAH, his X mark.

"QUAH-QUAH-LUP-PE-QUAH, his X mark.

"CHARLES KEOKUK, son of Keokuk, and Interpreter.

"GEORGE POWERS, Interpreter."

"A special dispatch from Lawrence, Kan., says that Captain Christian, the attorney for Keokuk, Mequahquog, Suffaquah, Manatowah and Wancocommo, is about to bring suit against Mr. Charles Mix, acting commissioner of Indian Affairs; Col. Charles Murphy, superintendent of the central superintendency; Major Wiley, agent of the Sacs and Foxes, and Thomas Dorwin, deputy United States marshal, for false imprisonment; Keokuk and his friends claiming damages in \$10,000."⁹⁵

But this appeal to the President did not result in favor of the Indians,

NOTE 95.—New York *Tribune*, December 14, 1868.

for Doctor Wiley was retained as agent, and the trader was exonerated from overcharging. Keokuk was determined, however, to have some sort of redress, and through his attorney, James Christian, brought suit in the district court of Douglas county, Kansas, against Albert Wiley, Charles E. Mix, Thomas Murphy, Thomas Dorwin and Wm. P. Montgomery. All of these cases were subsequently dismissed except Wiley's, and this suit was decided in favor of Keokuk, granting him \$1000 damages. Man-a-to-wah also brought suit, in which he was given damages to the amount of \$500. These suits were carried to the Kansas supreme court and the papers reviewed by Chief Justice S. A. Kingman who sustained the decision of the district court, Judge Jacob Safford concurring in the ruling of Judge Kingman.

Settlers began to occupy lands on the diminished reserve before⁹⁶ the ratification of the treaty, July 25, 1868. Albert Wiley wrote the department apprising it of the fact and asked Governor Crawford⁹⁷ for troops to remove the settlers, as the treaty provided that the settlements should not be made before the removal of the Indians.

But the government and the governor were expending all their energies in an effort to conciliate and finally conquer the Indians of the plains, and were unable to protect agent Wiley and his charges from the encroachments of the settlers. In his final report the agent says: [White men] "have taken possession of this reservation and have held it against President, Secretary of Interior, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, superintendents, agents, and the soldiers⁹⁸ who have been sent here," and asks, "Has the government carried out in good faith the last treaty made with Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippis?"

When the agency was removed from Osage county to the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) a new town was laid out on the agency site and given

NOTE 96.—

Governor Crawford: An order for the removal of settlers from the Sac and Fox reserve was sent to Gen'l Sheridan on the second (2d) of July, by order of the Secretary of War.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., July 21 [1868].

ED. SCHIEVER, *Inspir. Genl.*"

[Book of Executive Telegrams, 1864-'68, p. 77. Archives Dept., Kan. Hist. Soc. See also same volume, p. 75.]

NOTE 97.—

"SAC AND FOX AGENCY, KANSAS, August 7, 1868.
"To his Excellency, the Governor of Kansas:

"SIR—In the discharge of my duties as agent for the Sac and Fox Indians, I am having much trouble with the squatters in their illegal attempt to take possession of this reservation.

"The fourth article stipulates that this reserve shall remain as though this treaty had never been made, until the Indians are removed therefrom. No man or set of men have a right to violate the stipulations of this treaty. It is the law governing the case. The Indians complain to me of these encroachments, men taking possession of their houses, stealing their corn, and turning their stock loose on the reserve to destroy their crops. They ask me for protection. I must report these transactions to the department. Government has promised them protection and they should have it.

"The squatters claim the governor is with them in this illegal attempt to possess this land. It has been stated here by one Scott Daniels and others (squatters), that the governor advised them to come onto the reserve, and in the event of any interference by the United States troops, he would furnish them arms to defend themselves with. This I cannot believe until I have it from good authority. The violation of the stipulations of this treaty is wrong, illegal, and I don't think will be permitted by the government.

"I have little doubt but that many false representations have been made to you by the squatters. They can have no legal right here now, and I cannot believe the executive of this state will stand by and advise such proceedings.

"Many threats of violence have been made against me. Should violence come, it shall be for doing my duty, not for a neglect of it.

Would the governor please to inform me as to above statements?

ALBERT A. WILEY, *U. S. Indian Agent.*"

NOTE 98.—Lieut. Chauncey McKeever writes Governor Harvey, from Fort Leavenworth, April 13, 1869, informing him that no order has been given for the removal of the white settlers from the Sauk and Fox reservation, but that instructions have been given to send a detail of seven soldiers to preserve the peace.



QUENEMO.

the name of Quenemo. The Kansas Herd Book says Quenemo was named after the Indian wife of Mr. John Goodell. This is a mistake. It was the name of an Indian chieftain. Mr. Logan has never told me what member of the Sauk and Fox tribe was the authority for this version of the Quenemo legend, and Mrs. Nadeau insists that the definition of the term Quenemo is "I am lonely," or "I long for you."

THE LEGEND OF QUENEMO, AS RELATED BY GEO. W. LOGAN.

The name Quenemo is really composed of three distinct words, "Que-ne-mo." We have no word or words in our language to express its meaning accurately. It is an exclamation rather than a word, signifying a condition, and is a prayer to the Great Spirit: "Oh, my God!"

When an Indian commences to relate a tradition, the beginning of which is farther back than he can express, he always begins, "Before time—."

"Before time was we made a treaty with our enemies that we were not to kill our women prisoners. We had a battle with the northern Indians. They captured seven of our women and carried them north. When winter came and the campaign was abandoned, they turned our women loose to find their way homeward as best they could. They were snowed under in the pine forests of the north. One by one they died, the living ones eating

the flesh of their dead sisters, until six had died. The seventh woman gave birth to this male child, and in her lost condition, in her terrible extremity, with her dead sisters' bones lying around her, in her anguish and trial, she exclaimed, 'Que-ne-mo! Que-ne-mo!' or, 'Oh, my God! Oh, my God!' She survived the winter with her child, and in the spring made her way home to the tribe. Upon her return the warriors held a great council of seven days, a day for each one of the dead, and one for the living and her child, and made him chieftain of his band, covenanting with his mother that as long as time should last the title should remain in her family, and that the oldest son of each generation should be called Que-ne-mo."

So there has never been but one Que-ne-mo at any one time since. There have been in all six Quenemos—two in Osage county. The one for whom the town is named died in the Indian Territory about 1873, and is buried in the Sauk and Fox burial ground at the agency in Oklahoma. He was of the fifth generation. When he died there was no Quenemo living, but since that time his eldest daughter has borne a son who is entitled to the name, and is the sixth in line of the succession. We hope there may always be a Quenemo as long as "time shall last."

But at all events the pretty little village that nestles at the foot of Agency hill is the only town in the world bearing the name, and will forever perpetuate the legend of Quenemo.

Agency of Thomas Miller, 1869.

"SAC AND FOX AGENCY, INDIAN TERRITORY, August 18, 1870.⁹⁹

"In transmitting this, my first annual report of the condition of affairs within the Sac and Fox agency, I would say that on the 25th of 11th month last I commenced the removal of this tribe from their old reservation in Kansas to their new home west of the Creek nation, in the Indian Territory. One chief with his band, numbering some 240, declined to follow the main tribe. Although late in the season, we were favored with good weather and roads, and blessed with health, performing the journey in nineteen days. Our train consisted of seventeen wagons, and afforded comfortable conveyance for the aged, infirm, and children, while the larger portion of the more able had gone to the plains on their usual hunt, to join us on the new reserve on their return in the spring, thus saving the department the expense of their removal.

"Twenty-three additional wagons laden with Indian baggage, farm implements, provisions, etc., had preceded us, and were on the ground upon our arrival. It was now midwinter; we had no shelter except linen tents, yet owing to the mildness of the weather the Indians experienced no suffering.

"During the winter we were engaged in plowing, making rails and fencing lots for the Indians, they assisting us. In preparing for removal we had purchased nine yoke of oxen, wagons, plows, chains, etc. This enabled us to do the necessary farm work preparatory to planting in the spring. We plowed and planted 150 acres. Our corn made a good crop, and the Indians are now drying it for winter food.

"I think these Indians have done well under the circumstances, and they appear to be quite satisfied and contented in their new homes. I have visited the chief, who with the people refused to remove from the old reservation, several times, and the superintendent has visited him. We have urged that it would be far better for him to join his people in their new homes than to remain detached therefrom, exposed to annoyances from unfriendly white people, but our appeals have been unheeded. About forty of this chief's band, however, have in small companies left him and united with us, and

NOTE 99.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1870, p. 269: When General Grant became President he changed the personnel of the Indian agents, and appointed Quakers throughout, which gave general satisfaction, as the well-known policy of William Penn's people in their dealings with the Indians had been honest and just. Thomas Miller was appointed as the first quaker agent of the Sauks and Foxes.

we have reason to hope that ere long the remainder will follow, as they cannot receive their share of tribal annuities off the new reservation.

"On the 31st of last 5th month, Sac and Fox Indians upon the new reservation were enrolled for the purpose of receiving the semiannual payment, and the following is the result, viz : Adult males, 147; adult females, 132; children, 108; total on new reservation, 387. The others not being here and refusing to be counted, their number cannot be given with any degree of certainty.

"The Sac and Fox are situated on Deep Fork, west of the Creeks, and north of the Seminoles, from which latter reservation the tract selected for the Sauks and Foxes extended northward to the Red Fork of the Arkansas, and comprises 750 square miles. I am very favorably impressed that their change of location from Kansas to the Indian country is a good one. A large portion of the bottom land and much of the upland is of a good quality, and all adapted to the growth of grasses, both in prairie and timber. The reserve is well supplied with building and fencing timber, and has an abundance of wood for fuel. There appears a desire with some of the tribe to build log houses, instead of rude bark lodges in which they have heretofore generally lived, and with their assistance and coöperation we have helped and encouraged them to make this desirable change. Situated as they are, near more civilized tribes, living in houses and wearing citizen's dress, I think they will be influenced and encouraged to adopt the better habits of civilization. Most of them, however, still wear the blanket and dress otherwise in accordance with their tribal customs.

"We had a small but very good school in operation from the date of last annual report up to the time of our removal South, with an attendance of eight or ten children, and as it was deemed not best to take the children from comfortable quarters to be exposed in tents through the winter season the school was continued at the mission building on the old reservation until spring, under the charge of John Craig, superintendent, and Henrietta Woodmas, teacher. Last spring I removed the children down here, but we have not been able yet to have a school put in operation, which, however, we hope soon to be able to do.

"The employees at this agency are an interpreter, physician, blacksmith, gunsmith, and five farmers, most of whom, I believe, are striving to do their duty.

THOMAS MILLER, *Agent.*"

By 1871 all of the Sauks and Foxes had emigrated willingly to the new reservation in the Indian Territory save Mo-ko-ho-ko's band, which steadfastly refused to be torn away from the home they loved so well, and where most of them had been born. In October, 1875, they were removed by government troops, but returned promptly to Kansas. Not until November, 1886, after the death of Mo-ko-ho-ko, which had occurred about 1880, or as early as 1878, were they finally removed. His people would never tell the date of his death or place of burial. It is supposed that he is buried on the Marais des Cygnes northwest of Melvern. His home for years was on or near the land of Cyrus Case. He left a son, Waw-pe-law-pe, who has a son, Arthur Davis. Captain Sam succeeded Mo-ko-ho-ko as chief. This determination to remain in Kansas civilized this "wild band," for they supported themselves by working for the farmers upon the Marais des Cygnes and Salt creek, and when they at last drove away in charge of officers they had their own teams and spring wagons, with provisions and money for the journey, which they had earned for themselves, without the aid of a dollar from the government. A very few, Quenemo among the number, attended the annual payments at the Oklahoma agency and received their annuity. For fifteen years they had demonstrated the fact that they could take care of themselves. These Indians had to be guarded

for a year after their last removal to keep them from returning,¹⁰⁰ so strong was their attachment for their old home and the graves of their fathers, noteworthy followers of the patriotic Black Hawk, who, like themselves, was only fighting to retain his home. Although remaining with the nation in Oklahoma, this band has kept to its old methods, for which we respect them, for the agent, Samuel L. Patrick, in his annual report for 1892, says :

“There are three bands now residing upon allotted land and at the same time evading, so far as possible, the true meaning and intent of the allotment law. One is the Mo-ko-ho-ko band of Sacs and Foxes, under Chief Paw-she-paw-ho, numbering over 100 persons, who have always held aloof from the main tribe and have never taken part in the councils or patronized the schools, and have always been considered stubborn and rebellious. This band have taken their allotments all contiguous, and fenced the entire tract, placing gates on section line roads. They live in groups, breaking and cultivating land without regard to individual ownership. Yet, I must say that this band is above the average for sobriety, honesty, industry, and thrift, notwithstanding their determination not to follow the ways of the white man.”

It is not our province to follow up the political history of the tribe since its removal to the Territory, but to show how the good seed, sown broadcast in Osage county, under adverse circumstances, has yielded such an abundant harvest, it will be necessary to give the biographies of some of the families whom we have previously introduced.

THE CONVICTION AND CONVERSION OF MOSES KEOKUK.

It has been shown that the Keokuk family in Kansas had stood not only for honesty and advancement, but since the first days of Mr. and Mrs. Duvall's coming, for education and progress. In the interim between their advent at the old agency with the sweet-toned melodeon, when Mrs. Duvall first began to instruct a few Indian children in music and books in her own home, until their coming to organize the mission school at the new agency,¹⁰¹ Keokuk had sent his son Charley, and Chick-o-skuk had sent his son Joe, with Fannie and Isaac Goodell and Jane Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, to Baldwin school. But Charley and Joe were altogether too young for it to do them much good, aside from the association and an opportunity to learn to speak English by being in the company of white people exclusively. These boys were among the original seven of the first established Indian mission school under the agency of H. W. Martin, and were there taken into the home life of the Duvall's. When Philip Phillips was touring in Kansas they gave one of their sacred concerts at Baldwin. Keokuk was at the time visiting his son and attended the concert. Those of us who have had the pleasure of attending those concerts remember that they were highly spiritual, and worked upon the emotions of the listeners. Although Keokuk did not understand a single word, the soul-inspiring music touched his savage heart, and he wept and said “There must be something in the white man's religion and in the white man's God.”

NOTE 100.—Mrs. Nadeau has this to add to the story of Mo-ko-ho-ko's band: “After the band had been brought down the last time the leading men were handcuffed for many days, and fasted until they looked weak and exhausted. They would not consent to take the money that had been saved for them or consent to stay, though their friends and relatives plead with them to give in.” We judge Mrs. Nadeau means that the officers relented and liberated the braves, as she adds, “The members of the band were never sociable or neighborly until after their head men were dead and gone.”

NOTE 101.—The names of Charles Keokuk and Joseph Chic-o-skuk appear on pages 7 and 6 of the first catalogue issued by Baker University, 1862-'63.

Something was said to him about his crying, to which he quickly replied; "No. No cry! Squaw cry!" But the spirit of unrest, of a lost condition, had taken possession of him. He returned to his home and sought the counsel of John Goodell and his estimable wife, who explained to him the way of salvation, clearly and logically. He then went to his friend, interpreter and counselor William Hurr,¹⁰² who had been his one closest friend for years, whose advice and judgment he always sought in all matters of importance, who was himself an educated Indian. Hurr advised him to take his tent and go to an Indian missionary for religious teachings. This Keokuk did in 1875, and Mr. Hurr went along as interpreter. They stayed a number of weeks. At the end of that time he had been converted and baptised, and in 1876 was ordained a minister of the Baptist church. The Indian minister who baptised him is still living, Rev. Isaac McCoy, of Stroud, Okla.

Returning to the territory, Keokuk, like all new converts, began to work for the salvation of those around him. He built a Baptist church at his own expense, in which there was preaching and Sabbath school every Sunday, and if for any cause there was no preacher Keokuk mounted the pulpit and preached. Mrs. Fanny Goodell Nadeau says: "It was inspiring to see and hear Keokuk preach. He made a beautiful prayer."

As to Keokuk's correct understanding of the scripture we will allow the late Dr. E. B. Fenn, of Lyndon, Kan., to testify:

"When I was at the Sauk and Fox agency as physician for the nation I was the superintendent of the Sabbath school. One day in Bible class the question came up as to what constituted the unpardonable sin. When I turned to Mr. Hurr, also a Baptist minister and interpreter, he said, 'Ask Keokuk what constitutes the unpardonable sin.' Keokuk straightened up in his dignity, and replied, 'One word, 'neglect'; for the Bible says, 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life', and how shall we hope to escape if we neglect so great salvation?'"

Some time after Keokuk's aged wife died he married Mrs. Mary Means, whose portrait we here present. She was the daughter of Lieut. David D. Mitchell¹⁰³ and his Indian wife Julia, and was the baby with whom Mrs. Julia Mitchell swam the river. Mrs. Mary Keokuk lived very happily with her illustrious husband, and testifies that he lived a truly Christian life for at least thirty years before his death, and died in the faith. Mrs. Duvall writes: "When I heard that Keokuk had been converted and had preached the Gospel, I exclaimed, 'Cast thy bread upon the waters; for thou shalt find it after many days.'"

Mrs. Mary Keokuk is now living, and is very spry and remarkably well preserved intellectually for one who is eighty-four years of age. Of course she is educated and refined, as her picture shows. She was very beautiful, and was reared as a white girl in accordance with her father's request. But God had other plans for her, and through very much trouble and tribulation she was led back to her mother's people, where, through her influence,

NOTE 102.—WM. HURR (Naw-qua-ke-shick, or Noon-day) was a member of the Franklin county band of Ottawas, a disciple and pupil of the Rev. Jotham Meeker. He signed the Ottawa treaties of 1862 and 1867, the first as councilman and the second as interpreter. C. R. Green visited him in Oklahoma in 1903. He then said: "I have been interpreter here [Sauk and Fox agency], off and on, twenty years." In Kansas the Ottawa Indians and Sauks and Foxes were under the same agent.

NOTE 103.—In one of the record books of the Indian Office at St. Louis, in the Kansas Historical Society's collection, is the correspondence of David D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, from October 6, 1841, to January 2, 1844.



MRS. MARY KEOKUK.

Babe on her mother's back in swimming the stream.

by the blessing of God, she has helped to win civilization for them and a crown of glory for herself.

Mrs. Keokuk remembers that while she was at Prairie du Chien, or Fort Crawford, Wis., that Col. Zachary Taylor was in command there, and the circumstances of the elopement of his daughter, Sarah Knox Taylor, with Lieut. Jefferson Davis, also stationed at the fort. The young couple fled to Fort Winnebago, but, being a child then, Mrs. Keokuk does not remember whether they were overtaken there or not, but they were married later at the home of Mrs. Taylor's aunt at Louisville, Ky., in 1835. The honeymoon was short, for the young wife died within a few months and never knew the later illustrious history of her father and of her husband.

Moses Keokuk, whose Indian name was Waw-naw-ke-sah, was the son of Old Keokuk and his wife No-kaw-quale, and was born just below Rock

Island, Ill., in February, 1824, and died in Oklahoma, October 27, 1903, leaving one son, Charles Keokuk, who died the next year, June 6, 1904. Charles is survived by four children—three sons and one daughter—all of whom are well educated, and are the only living descendants of the Keokuk family. Charles was thrice married. The eldest son, Frank R. (Nale-pwe), is married, and lives in Stroud, Okla. John E. (Mes-qua-ke) and Robert (Pah-she-she-mo) are the second and third sons, while Miss Fannie Keokuk (Waw-ko-se-quale), a very beautiful girl, is a student at Carlisle, Pa. They have an inheritance of sterling character and worth. John E. Keokuk, of Stroud, Okla., is a writer of much literary merit. He, too, is married. We had hoped to have received from him a late photograph of his illustrious father and some additional Keokuk history.

Chick-o-skuk was the Fox chief, being appointed to that position after Maw-me-wah-ne-kah left Kansas for Iowa. He died in 1887, at about the age of eighty, and his wife, Kah-tah-ko-wah, in 1895. Their son Joe died in 1873, and his second son, Ah-naw-me, in 1903. They were of the Black Hawk band, and left no descendants.

Appanoose, a Sauk chief by inheritance, as his name implies, signed the treaty of 1842, by which the Sauks and Foxes exchanged their Iowa home for the reserve in Kansas. In 1837 he was one of the party that accompanied Major Street to the East. His public address at Boston was said to have been the most animated of the Indian speakers. From it he appears to have been a tall man. He evidently emigrated to Kansas with his band, and a northern branch of the Marais des Oygnes in Franklin county bears

his name. Thos. L. McKenney's "History of the Indian Tribes of North America" devotes a page to him.

A little stream south of Quenemo, a southern branch of the Marais des Cygnes, commemorates Tuquas, the chief noted for the sobriety of himself and band. His name is appended to the Sauk and Fox treaty of 1842, and is there spelled Tuk-quos, a Sauk. As his name is not attached to the treaty of 1859, it is probable that by that time he had passed on.

Pow-e-sheek, a principal chief of the Foxes, also died in Kansas, and is supposed to be buried near the mouth of One-hundred-and-ten creek. His name is attached to the treaties of 1832 to 1842, inclusive, the meaning given as "Roused bear" or "Shedding bear."

Black Hawk¹⁰⁴ had two sons in Kansas; the eldest, Nash-she-wah-skuk, has a son living in Oklahoma, whose name is Logan Kah-Kaque, one of the late Sauk and Fox counselors. He was named for John A. Logan by the committee who gave the Sauk and Fox Indians their English names in 1891, just before the allotment of lands. Walter Battice was a member of this committee. Logan had a brother Joseph, and one whose name I did not obtain, who died long ago. Black Hawk's youngest son's name was Aw-tha-me-saw. Kah-Kaque is a highly respected old man, and has a son Jesse and daughter Inez, and nine fine grandchildren. The son is well educated. May there never cease to be a direct descendant of Black Hawk.

Jane Shaw-paw-kaw-kah returned to her blanket Indian, and assumed her Indian name, Pioke. She was very happy with her Indian lover, Growing Horn (Saw-ke-we-naw-kaw-paw), and they lived together many years, raising a family of four children, two of whom, Fannie and Milford, are still living. Her husband died and she again married an Indian, whose English name is William Shaw (Peo-twy-tuck). They have a very beautiful daughter by the name of Edna Shaw, who is also a student at Carlisle. Mrs. Shaw has a son and two daughters living, and all married. While Mrs. Shaw dropped her citizen's dress and put on full Indian costume, and only spoke in Indian tongue, as her first husband did not know a word of English, she has been the means, consciously or unconsciously, of reaching a class of her people that the missionaries would have failed to influence, and has done more real good for the Sauk and Fox nation than any one missionary could have done. Still, it must be acknowledged that her good influence had its origin with the sweet-toned melodeon of Mrs. Duvall.

This story is told by Mr. Logan:

"One day there entered a settler's house in the Indian Territory several squaws. The girls had a new organ, and one of them could play a few chords and sing some. Finally, after sitting a while, one of the squaws nodded toward the organ and said to one of the girls in English, "Play." So the girl sang and played for a while, all she knew, probably, and then asked the squaw to play. To her surprise, the squaw laid aside her blanket and went to the organ. Sitting down, she ran her fingers lightly over the keyboard a few times, and then looking up, asked in good, pure English, "What will you have?" And then followed song after song in English, and instrumental pieces—a regular concert—and such singing and such playing those girls had never heard before. It is needless to say it was Jane Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, and never before was there such surprise or musical revelation known."

Of course Jane enjoyed not only the music for herself, but to see the

NOTE 104.—In a book of accounts of the Sauk and Fox Indian agent at Rocky Island, 1822 to 1834, the names of "Kiokauk" and Black Hawk frequently appear.

surprise and bewilderment of these white girls, who could not understand how it happened. But Jane did not lose the instinct for culture acquired in her youth, for she went to the agency and borrowed the current magazines. These she read and enjoyed, keeping abreast of the times and interpreting her information to her family. Her children were taught to read. Instead of going back to savage ways of life she has progressed in civilization herself, lives in a fine home, and is a first-class housekeeper—better than many of her white neighbors. She has some bright grandchildren in school at the agency.

Pah-teck-quah, the nephew of Shaw-paw-kaw-kah who was elected chief in accordance with his will, has left a son by the name of William Pah-teck-quah, who has four daughters and several grandchildren, all educated.

Longhorn was a councilman in the tribe in the early days in Kansas, and died in Quenemo about 1864. His grandson, the one he brought to Mrs. Duvall with the words, "Make him a great man—he go to Washington," Robert Thrift Longhorn, died in Oklahoma in 1890, leaving two children, William and Edna Thrift. William died about 1893. Edna is still living and has four fine children; the two eldest, a boy and a girl, are attending the manual training school at the Sauk and Fox agency in Oklahoma.

The Whistlers were four brothers, William, John, Joseph and Leo, sons of Gen. John Whistler, of Kansas militia fame, who was born at Fort Dearborn (Chicago), of a mixed-blood Pottawatomie and Ottawa woman, and Col. William Whistler,¹⁰⁵ whose father, Maj. John Whistler, first of the name in America, erected Fort Dearborn in 1803. General John married a Kinzie (probably a sister of Robert A. Kinzie, of Burlington, born in Chicago in 1810 and emigrated to Kansas in 1847) soon after the Mexican war, in which he was a soldier. During the Kansas troubles in 1858 he was a general of the Seventh brigade, Kansas territorial militia. After the death of his wife he remarried, settling at Burlington, Kan., in 1857, where his son Garland still resides. From 1847 to 1857 he traded with the Pottawatomie, Saux and Fox Indians, in what is now Franklin county.

William Whistler, son of General John, was educated at Independence, Mo. He married Sarah Goodell, December 28, 1859, and was a trader and kept the post office at the new agency, in Osage county. It is said that he represented Thomas C. Stevens, of the firm of Thomas Carney & Co., of Leavenworth. They had two children, Leo and Gertie, who are both educated and have fine families. William Whistler was a member of the Kansas legislature in 1871. He died October 31, 1872, and was buried at Burlington. Sarah married a second time, Mr. Henry Pennock, but they did not live long together. She is now known as Mrs. William Whistler, and lives with her daughter Gertie at Cushing, Okla. Her son Leo is a merchant, and has married a white wife. They have three interesting children, and reside at the Sauk and Fox agency, Oklahoma.

John Whistler, jr., married Mrs. Fannie Goodell Capper, the adopted daughter of John and Julia Goodell, who bears witness of her foster mother as being the only true Christian she ever knew. Mr. John Whistler, jr.,

NOTE 105.—Col. William Whistler had a brother, Lieut. George Washington, who graduated as a civil engineer from West Point in 1819. He assisted in the survey of the northwest boundary from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, of the Baltimore & Susquehanna and other railroads, and in 1842 went to Russia where he laid out railroads for that country, and where he died in 1849. Lieut. George W. Whistler had two sons, George William Whistler, who went to Russia and finished up the work his father had begun, and James Abbott McNeill Whistler, the artist.

died in 1890, at Arkansas City, Kan., leaving two children, Guy Kinzie Whistler (Pwy-mau-ske) and Pauline, both educated. He was an indulgent husband and a friend of the poor. Mrs. Guy Whistler was Margaret Phipps (Pwy-me-squette). Their baby is Mary Frances (Mum-me-seth). Mrs. John Whistler subsequently married Mr. Nadeau, who is still living. Mrs. Nadeau has a son, John Capper, living in Lyndon, who is a credit to his parents. He has a good education and is one of the foremost business men of his nation. Her daughter, John Capper's sister, was married, but is now a widow, living with Mrs. Nadeau. Mrs. Nadeau has three extraordinarily bright and beautiful grandchildren of whom she is justly proud. She is herself a lady of refinement and culture, and writes very entertaining letters.

Walter Battice was born at Rattlesnake Hill in 1857. His father was a French half-breed, Mah-tah-que-pah-ka-tah (Stricken Tree), and his mother a Sauk. He was about six years old when the death of both parents left him alone, and he was taken into Mrs. Duvall's fold. He was so fine looking and commanding in appearance, she says, that she gave him the name of Colonel. It was he who hid under the buggy seat when the Duvalls visited the agency school. His lonely little heart needed mothering; and he wanted to go away with her. After the removal to Oklahoma he lived with Doctor Wiley, at Quenemo, Kan., for five years. Henry Jones says of him: "He has done well for a poor orphan boy, all alone in the world." When he learned all that was to be learned at the agency school he hired out as a cowboy in order to raise money to go to Hampton, Va. We will allow the Hampton people to tell of his school life:



WALTER BATTICE.

"Walter Battice (Pah-me-wau-tha-skuk, or Sheet Lightning), seven-eighths Sauk and Fox, brought up among poor surroundings, yet with a strong desire for better things that led him, October 26, 1882, with his friend Miles, to break away from the old life of recklessness and come East for better training. He entered the Indian classes and was graduated from the normal department in 1887. He returned home soon after, and getting together a party of boys and girls, returned with them to Hampton the next fall. He then entered the Bridgewater (Mass.) Normal School, graduating from a special course in 1889. The next fall he returned home to take a position in the Sauk and Fox school there, starting a Sunday school with Hampton students as teachers, and was made secretary of his nation by his people. It is largely due to his efforts that the Indians agreed to take allotments and sell the remainder to white people for settlement. Intending to come East again the following year to study law, he resigned his position in the school to his friend Thomas Miles, but ill health prevented, and

he went into business, still retaining his position as secretary of the nation. In January, 1891, he married Miss Rosa Makosato, the daughter of the head chief of the nation, sending out wedding cards and having a very pretty wedding at the home of a Hampton student, Mrs. Mary King Whistler. He was educated by Mrs. Mary Hemenway and Miss Alice M. Longfellow, daughter of the poet."

Mr. Kohlenberg, United States agent at the Sauk and Fox agency, says: "Mr. Battice was secretary of the Sauk and Fox nation at the time of the abolishment of the council in 1892, and is now employed as an additional farmer.

Harry B. Gilstrap, postmaster at Chandler, Okla., testifies:

"I have known Mr. Battice since I came to this country eighteen years ago. He is a man of fine physical appearance, always neat in person, and gentlemanly in demeanor. He is of more than ordinary intelligence, not merely for his race, but for a citizen without regard to race. He is well educated, graduating at Hampton. I can see how anyone who might be interested in Indians might be attracted by a person of such interesting personality as Walter Battice. He is one of the leading men of the tribe, and seems to possess their confidence to the fullest degree, notwithstanding his habits and tastes are those of a white man. He has made numerous trips to Washington in the interest of his people, and possesses a large acquaintance among senators and congressmen and others prominent in the public life of the national capitol. He is a good reader, and his grasp of current events, especially in relation to politics, is excellent. He takes a keen interest in public affairs, has been a delegate to many conventions, and has served as a member of the central committee of the Republican party. He has traveled a great deal, and has had a varied though successful career in business. He has been a member of the Sauk and Fox council."

Almost any white man would have given that about himself without ever batting an eye in modesty. True, you would have recorded it as given, or have added a superlative or two to the account, but you would have felt like taking it with arched eyebrows, discounting its worth. In reply to the question, "if he was the one Mrs. Duvall named Colonel," we will quote from his letter: "Yes, my name used to be Colonel Battice, but when I entered Hampton school, in 1882, I was requested by Captain Brown, who was drill master, to change my name, as he could not have any officer over him, as he was only a captain. So I said, 'You may call me Walter,' and that has been my name ever since." Mr. Battice has a daughter Cora, a lovely girl of eighteen, at Carlisle with Fannie Keokuk. However prodigal he may have been regarding information concerning himself, he has been of invaluable assistance in the compiling of this brief history, in which he has taken deep interest, furnishing information not obtainable elsewhere. It strikes us that he would make pretty good timber for a republican congressman from his district.

Right here we wish to explain that we have had much difficulty in compiling these biographical sketches, for the reasons that the parties to whom you write for information themselves are extremely modest and give you a string of references, to whom you address inquiries. The replies received often do not agree, are dateless as to occurrences, and sometimes relate later happenings first, until it is a question which is right. The parties themselves could have given it correctly, but all seem to feel as Mr. Battice wrote: "As to myself, it would be better to let some one else tell it, don't you think?" And we have had such a hard time running him down

to earth that we surely appreciate that gentleman's worth, and for the most part will allow our informants to talk.

"Thomas Miles (Much-u-ter-wi-shek), a quarter-blood Sauk and Fox, arrived at Hampton October 2, 1882, with Walter Battice. He entered the junior class, graduated in 1885, and returned home to take a position in the government school there. Deciding he could be of more use to his people as a physician, he returned East to prepare for his profession. He spent one year in preparation at Meriden, N. H., and the next year entered the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, where for two years he led his classes. But his health failed and he was obliged to return to the school at home, where he regained his health and replenished his purse, and paid his own way, with the government's aid of ninety-two dollars, and would have graduated, but his eyes and health gave out, and he was obliged once more to return home. As this meant two years before a diploma could be given, he married the girl of his choice (Miss White), to whom he had been engaged, and together they returned to teach at the Sauk and Fox school. He, besides his school work, acted as treasurer of the Sauk and Fox nation, a position in which he had an opportunity to influence wisely the older men of his tribe, who would be otherwise beyond his reach. In 1891 he returned to the university, and in 1892 graduated with honors. At present he is living at Shawnee, Okla."—(Hampton report.)

Dr. Thomas Miles has a fine practice and a drug store, and is making a reputation as a surgeon. He has chosen to serve his own people, which is very commendable, and is in contrast with John Whistler, another eminent scholar. His sister, Mrs. Hattie McDaniel, is an employee at the Sauk and Fox Indian school, Oklahoma. Their parents were Jack Miles and his first wife, a member of the Sauk and Fox nation. He died at the Soldiers' Home, Leavenworth.

"John Whistler (Wa-the-na), son of Joseph Whistler, was brought up by his uncle, John Whistler, and Fanny Goodell, at Stroud, Okla. He had been at school for several years, and entered the middle class here (Hampton). He was anxious for further education, and after a summer's work at his trade (printing) at the Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., he went to Meriden, N. H., where, through a scholarship (given by Justis S. Hotchkiss) and by his own labor, he prepared himself for higher studies later on.

"A notable demonstration of the Indian's capability for positions of trust has recently come to our notice. Ten years ago an Indian ward of the government was brought to Hampton from the Sauk and Fox agency in Oklahoma. In due time he was graduated, and went North for two more years of school. Here he met his ideal woman, and under her influence he decided to become a citizen of Massachusetts. He has a pleasant home and a prosperous business, and has held several positions of responsibility in the community. Just now we have before us the annual report of the town of Lanesboro, Mass., in which this young man's name appears as town treasurer, and is signed to a long report of receipts and expenditures. We do not place the responsibility, but notice that the town debt has decreased just ten per cent during this young man's term of office."—*Southern Workman*, May, 1900.

And this is none other than John Whistler, making good in staid old Massachusetts.

Henry Clay Jones was the son of Geo. W. Jones and a Fox woman, Katiqua. Henry educated himself—that is, to read and write, and in the use of numbers. Mr. Walter Battice writes of him that he is a remarkable man, who has made every effort to educate his children and has succeeded. Henry Jones married Miss Sarah E. Penny, a white woman at the Quenemo agency, just before the tribe was removed to Oklahoma. Mr. Jones has been the blacksmith and interpreter for the tribe. He has also engaged in farming



DR. WILLIAM JONES.

(Courtesy of Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine, Oklahoma City.)

and stock raising, and has been generally successful. His children are all well educated and unusually bright. Mr. Jones is now in his sixty-seventh year, and in very poor health.

“William Jones, son of Henry Jones and Sarah E. Penny, was born March 28, 1871, on Salt creek, near Stroud, Lincoln county, Oklahoma. His mother died when he was but three years old, and he was brought up by his Indian grandmother, Eagle Girl. He was sent to school at the agency, and his early education was given by Miss Stella Fenn, teacher at the government school, now Mrs. Wadell, of Lyndon, Kan. He attended White's Institute at Wabash, Ind., for three years. He was admitted to Hampton October, 1889. In 1892 he entered Phillips Academy, Andover,

Mass., graduating and winning a scholarship in Harvard in 1896, and entered Harvard the same year. He was a member of the famous Hasty Pudding Club, and was one of the editors of *The Crimson*, a Harvard magazine. He supported himself by tutoring and writing short stories. He graduated from Harvard 1900, and was immediately offered a position as one of the editors of the *Youth's Companion*, in recognition of his literary ability. He preferred to continue his studies, and took graduate work in Columbia College, New York city, in anthropology and ethnology, receiving the degrees of A. M. and Ph. D., teaching classes in anthropology to defray his expenses. Doctor Jones was modest in the extreme and would allow no newspaper notices of himself. He was passionately fond of his own people, and his first work was among his own nation in preserving their language, in writing a grammar, and editing 'Fox Texts,' published in the native tongue, with accurate translation.

"After his field work among the Sauks and Foxes he was appointed research assistant with the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., to work among the central Algonquins in Canada, following up the language, rites and customs of the Sauk and Fox nation. In 1906 Doctor Jones was employed by the Field Columbian Museum of Chicago, to conduct field work in the Philippine Islands. Two years he spent in research in Luzon, which was crowned with marked success. He met this death at the hands of the natives among whom he was pursuing his investigations, March 28, 1909, his thirty-eighth birthday."

J. B. Thoburn, author of the school history of Oklahoma, has published in *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine* of January last an appreciative sketch of this scholarly hero. He attributes much of Doctor Jones's success to his nativity, which gave him a peculiar insight into the mental traits of the American Indian, to his great interest in his subject, and to his patient labor and thoroughness. He possessed, too, that "charm that made it possible for him to come into intimate association and fellowship with primitive peoples." The published works of Doctor Jones were meager in contrast to the material he had preserved in the form of notes. His "Fox Texts" consisted of myths, and were published by the American Ethnological Society. The Department of Education, Toronto, issued a general discussion by Doctor Jones on Ojibway Culture. His "Algonquin Manitou" appeared in the *Journal of American Folk Lore*.

The following list, furnished us from Hampton, represents many of those Sauks and Foxes who began the change from savage life to civilization at Quenemo: Walter Battice; David Badfish or Avery; Charley Conolly, deceased; John Coteau; Ruth Garrett (Mrs. Bearskins); Antoine Gokey, deceased; William Jones, deceased; Frank Keokuk; Nellie Keokuk, deceased; Addie King (Mrs. Charley W. Fear); Cassie McCoy (Mrs. Frank Williams); Hattie Miles (Mrs. McDaniel), teacher at the Sauk and Fox manual training school in Oklahoma; Thomas Miles; Lydia Monroe (Mrs. Hamblin); Alice Moore (Mrs. Studer); W. H. Moore; John Whistler, (4) X. From the reservation in Iowa: Harry and William Davenport.

The above have received higher education. There are many of a later generation at Carlisle, Haskell, Chilocco and other schools, besides the manual training school at Stroud. Mr. Battice says he is proud to state that all through the reservation their children are attending the various district schools in their localities, and that very soon all Indians will be educated Indians. He says also that William and Alice Moore live at Prague, and that Mrs. Hamblin and Mrs. Meeks, of Shawnee, are well-to-do, live in fine houses, are educated, and looked up to as model citizens; none better any-

where. There are other educated Indians of this nation who attend college elsewhere, and who are not here recorded.

Old Settlers' day, August, 1909, was held in Quenemo. The town did itself proud by way of entertainment. Invitations were sent to the members of the Sauk and Fox tribe to make a visit to their old home, with an offer to pay the expenses for all who would come. Those who accepted the invitation are in this group, and were photographed by Mr. Mayden, an artist of Quenemo. There were other Indians present from other tribes, who came to meet some of their old-time friends.



Walter Battice made a fine speech, winning much praise from those who listened. We have heard so many versions as to who these were and their history, that we asked Mr. Battice to furnish the name and a sketch of each, and as it will be of local interest to Osage county, we here reproduce his sketch:

- "1. Standing on the left, Walter Battice.
- "2. Woman standing, Qua-tah-che.
- "3. Woman sitting, Shash-ka-sque.
- "4. Child of above woman. The last three are from Tama, Ia., having been to Oklahoma on visit, and were returning to Iowa.
- "5. The large Indian sitting is Kaw-to-pe or Samuel Peel, the father and grandfather of the above three. He was a great athlete in his younger days; even in later years he could walk many miles a day. He died about January 7, 1910.
- "6. Standing behind Kaw-to-pe is Mah-ta-tu-wen-nee or Isaac Struble. He is noted for making hand-made wooden spoons and bowls, such as are used by the Indians to-day. He was very kind to his wife, a blind woman.
- "7. One standing between two Indians is Mo-whah or Jerome Wolf, better known as Little Wolf. He has relations living here on the reserve. He is the general road worker for the villages, and cuts a great deal of wood, and sells it to anyone who may buy.

"8. The man sitting is Ne-kol-lo-so-hit or Benjamin Harrison. He has been a great hunter in his day. He even now goes out into the great expanse of timber and finds wild deer when others fail. A good hunter can always catch a squaw.

"9. Standing on the right, Pe-peque or Edward Mathews. He was one of our late councilmen, a fine orator, and one who knows a great deal of Indian legendary lore.

"10. The young man standing is Ma-sha-wah-tha or Eveline Givens. He is a great dancer, understands all the rulings of feasts, and also cooks for their feasts. In fact, the two last mentioned are members of the secret medicine lodge still indulged by some of the best Indians."

We have lived in Osage county continuously ever since the Indians were first removed to Oklahoma, Mo-ko-ho-ko's band remaining long after our coming. We were long connected with the school life of Osage county, and without fear of contradiction assert that the white children born and reared upon the same ground have not had so eminent a scholar as William Jones, nor a better public speaker than Walter Battice, nor a better physician and surgeon than Dr. Thomas Miles, nor a greater per cent of highly educated men and women, although Osage county has produced some exceptionally fine scholars, of whom we are exceedingly proud. But to think that the Sauk and Fox nation were the very last people to accept civilization, education and religion, and that the above showing is in the same generation that left the blanket! We challenge the other tribes of the United States to produce a better showing in the same length of time, or the white people of a similar territory to produce a better exhibit of scholarship.

We think we have shown that the Sauk and Fox nation leads the other Indian tribes in bravery, honesty, native intelligence, adaptability to circumstances, love of home and native land, and, lastly, of loyalty to their Great Father, in spite of the dishonesty of the agents of the government.

Allow me to quote from a letter from Mr. Battice in answer to a query as to what he might say concerning any grievances he might have toward the usurpation of their territory, and which reply shows his just and accurate conception of the entire subject:

"As to any grievances, we, as educated Indians, have come to the conclusion that it is too late to ponder or serve any purpose by going into the matter of right and wrong concerning the early and recent relations between the aborigines of this country and the other races—the invaders of the Indian domain, etc. What we wish to do is to equip ourselves for what is coming; cease to be governmental wards, to balance up the great ledger and be called men and women. Then all will be buried in the ashes of the past, and our experiences, having constituted one of the inevitable steps in the evolution of the human race, must necessarily, as time goes on, grow dimmer and dimmer, and eventually become so obscure by the distance as to seem altogether insignificant in the point of human history, as have thousands of other sanguinary epochs in the world's movements."

That the Indians are soon to shift for themselves and become a part of the body politic of this nation is to be seen from the following quotation from one of Mr. Battice's letters:

"On July 17, 1909, the Secretary of the Interior abolished our council, which was composed of first and second chiefs and eight councilmen. This body was supposed to look after the affairs and attend to the business for the tribe."

This wipes out all tribal relations. Mr. Battice answers some inquiries concerning tribal officers, and as this is now and will be henceforth and for-

ever a relic of the past, we will again quote, that the plan of the Indian form of government may be herein recorded and preserved:

"In the early days the chieftain was hereditary. Our tribe used to be divided into different bands or villages, and each had their representatives, called braves, head men and councilors. Braves were so called because of some great deed done during warfare. A head man was called so because he was recognized as the spokesman or most influential man in his band. Before the treaty of 1867 we had only two principal chiefs, a Sauk and a Fox chief, but after this we had five, who were known as "five treaty chiefs." They were Keokuk, Chic-o-skuk, Uc quaw-ho-ko, Pah-te-quah, and Cup-paw-be, each of them having a band of followers. Later, in the '80's, I think about 1886, the Sauks and Foxes adopted a constitution, electing a principal and second chief and other officers every two years. The head or principal chief was the one usually elected to approve and sign all bills and contracts. The second chief was chairman of the council. Our first principal chief was Keokuk; second, Chick-o-skuk; third, Uc-quaw-ho-ko; fourth, McKosito (Mah-ko-sah-toe). After our last treaty, in 1891, we had no more elections. McKosito was chief until July 17, 1909."

There is something pathetic and sad in the annihilation of a nation, and our hearts go out in sympathy to these people. Nearly the whole race are gone. Those who are left are being taken into the white race, not in dishonor but in honor, preferring one another.

Theodore Roosevelt said, in his Oxford address,¹⁰⁶ June 7, 1910: "'When we speak of the 'death' of a tribe, a nation, or a civilization, the term may be used for either one of two totally different processes; the analogy with what occurs in biological history being complete. Certain tribes of savages, the Tasmanians, for instance, and various little clans of American Indians, have within the last century or two completely died out; all of the individuals have perished, leaving no descendants, and the blood has disappeared. Certain other tribes of Indians have as tribes disappeared or are now disappearing; but their blood remains, being absorbed into the veins of the white intruders, or the black men introduced by these white intruders; so that in reality they are merely being transformed into something absolutely different from what they were. In the United States, in the new state of Oklahoma, the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Delawares and other tribes are in process of absorption into the masses of the white population. When the state was admitted, a couple of years ago, one of the two senators and three of the five representatives in Congress were partly of Indian blood. In but a few years these Indian tribes will have disappeared as completely as those that have actually died out; but the disappearance will be by absorption and transformation into the mass of the American population.'"

With the tribal relations severed, and with the gift of franchise in his hand, the Indian ceases to be a ward of the government and is recognized as one in the higher order of creation, and thus the savage tribes are swept from the earth. "Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new."

NOTE 106.—*Outlook*, New York city, June 11, 1910, p. 803.